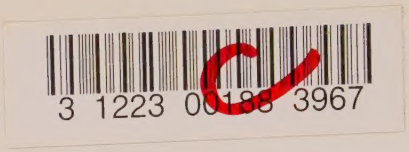

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THE PAINTED GLASS OF YORK

RELIEVING THE PRISONERS.

NORTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

[*By permission of the Rev. P. J. S*

Frontispiece.

THE HISTORIC MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND
Edited by A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE PAINTED GLASS OF YORK

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEDIEVAL GLASS OF THE MINSTER AND THE PARISH CHURCHES

BY THE REV.
F. HARRISON, M.A., F.S.A.
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WITH A PREFACE BY THE VERY REVEREND
W. FOXLEY NORRIS, D.D.
DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

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TO

THE VERY REVEREND

WILLIAM FOXLEY NORRIS

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

A SHORT treatise on the medieval glass of the Minster and the parish churches of York, which amongst them possess nearly two hundred windows that contain medieval glass, cannot lay any claim to completeness. No account that did not describe in detail every panel of this glass could be considered to be the final word about it. The present account—the first that has appeared since the preservation of the York Minster windows, begun in the year 1920 on a large scale, has been within sight of completion—aims at providing the student, as well as the general reader and visitor, with a running commentary on the greatest surviving treasure of medieval glass in existence, and with a summary, which will be found at the end of the book, of the contents of each window so far as these can be read. It is thus a catalogue as well as an essay.

The parish churches have been arranged in groups according to locality. The visitor to York who can spare a week for the study is advised to start with the Minster, on which just more than half the time at his disposal may be spent, and to proceed then to the parish churches.

A knowledge of the subject obtained from the late Mr. J. D. Le Couteur's book in the present series will be found most valuable, though not indispensable.

A list of those to whom I am indebted for help freely and gladly given in my study of the York glass during the past eight years would be a very long one. I mention here, with gratitude, the Dean of Westminster, who has kindly allowed me to inscribe this work to him

and has written a preface which I am proud to have in the book, and under whom I was privileged to work for six years in the preservation of the windows of York Minster; the Dean of York, who has continued the trust and the confidence reposed in me by his predecessor; Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, who has not only revised the proofs of the book, but has for some years ungrudgingly assisted me in every part of my archæological work with his unique knowledge and his friendly criticism; the Provost of Eton, to whom I owe hardly less in my study of old glass; Mr. J. A. Knowles, a near neighbour, well-known to all students of ancient glass, who has at all times generously placed photographs of his own and his skilled advice at my disposal; Mr. George Benson, whose account of the York glass I began with; Mr. William Watson, the friend of two generations of students of Old York; and my wife, who has compiled the index, and without whose encouragement and support the book could not have appeared during this, the 1,300th, year of the life of York Minster.

F. Harrison.

4 Minster Yard, York.
March 1927.

PREFACE

THERE is no such storehouse of English medieval glass as York Minster, and there are few people better equipped to write about it than Mr. Harrison. The art of glass-painting, or rather the art of making fine compositions in coloured glass, for the completion and decoration of noble architecture reached its highest point in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The English glass artists of that period managed to produce a quality in their work which placed them, if we may say so without insular pride, in a position of excellence which has never been surpassed. I believe that the reason for this is to be found mainly in two considerations. First, that their primary purpose, if not their sole purpose, was decoration, and decoration of the particular building with which they were dealing. And secondly that they, more than any other stained-glass artists, seem to have appreciated the capabilities and the limitations of their media. I say "media," and not "medium," because these great craftsmen recognised that they were dealing with two things, glass and light. The main purpose of a window (constantly forgotten by people who deal with coloured glass) is to admit light; and colour should only be used in windows to beautify, control, distribute, and sometimes to intensify, the light. If this is borne in mind, the reason why so much of the modern pictorial representation in windows is doomed to failure will be evident. The primary consideration of the glass artist must be the lighting and decoration of his building, and if he is at the same time endeavouring to make a picture the two purposes will be certain to conflict. The examination of the range of windows at York will show

any acute observer how closely these medieval artists kept themselves to their primary purpose. The method which is said to have been employed by John Thornton in making the great East Window was probably the normal method, and was certainly the only sensible method. That is to say, the subject having been selected, the work was done bit by bit on the spot. Rich glass or faint, dark or light, was inserted in its place, and from time to time the artist would come inside the building and judge of the effect and would transpose or alter or replace according as he felt his glass to have the decorative value which he desired to produce. His "subject" would be always subordinated to the general effect.

Now contrast this with the ordinary modern method. Over and over again the measurements of a window are sent up to London; a sketch and an estimate are obtained; and I have even known a window completed and sent down before the maker of it has even ever seen the church which he is proposing to decorate. I do not say that this is common, and I am sure it will be repudiated by artists, but it does happen, and that shows how far we are capable of wandering from the old standards.

The congruity with their architecture and the fitness for their place strikes one at once in looking at the York windows. This is particularly noticeable perhaps in the north choir aisle and in the choir clerestory and in the East Window. The glass seems to have grown with the stonework.

The York glass is almost all pot-metal—i.e. glass coloured in the manufacture, and not enamelled, and this accounts for the extraordinary brilliancy of it all, however thin it may have become owing to the perpetual wasting of its outside surface. The beauty of it must be seen to be appreciated, and I trust that this book will not only instruct those who know the Minster but attract many to it.

Mr. Harrison has devoted years of close and loving care and attention to the windows, and brought his

considerable and unusual amount of antiquarian and archæological knowledge to bear upon them. Evidence of this will be found on every page, and I think that many will be surprised to find how much personal and social as well as artistic interest the windows yield. Much might be said about the intensely interesting work of "preservation" which has been going on for some years, but that can be read elsewhere, and all I have to do now is to commend this book both to lovers of York and to students of stained glass; and to thank the author for his able co-operation and help in the great work, so much of which we were allowed to do together.

W. F. N.

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THE PAINTED GLASS OF YORK

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

While the architecture of the English Cathedral and parish church receives in almost every period the attention from students and others that its beauty and its place in ecclesiastical art warrant, the coloured glass which has survived the iconoclastic zeal of the reformer, the all-too-thorough methods of the restorer, and the steady march of time has attracted far too little notice. Yet, scattered up and down the country, in church after church of all styles of building from Romanesque to Late Perpendicular, and of all sizes from the smallest country church to the largest cathedral, there are to be found countless examples of the art of the medieval glass-painter. Here there is nothing larger than a head or a fragment of a canopy or a roundel or a quarry; there one can study in the same church, in several complete windows, magnificent survivals of more than one style of glass-painting, each one illustrative of an art that kept pace with the changes in the design of the more durable stonework. From the fragment of a twelfth-century Jesse in the nave of York Minster to the windows of the early sixteenth century at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, or at St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church, York, all styles can be seen. Almost every county has its priceless gems of old painted glass, known, alas! to comparatively few even amongst those whose custom it is to visit churches for their archæological interest.

The cathedral and parish churches of the ancient city

of York are more than an epitome of the wealth of old glass in this country, for they contain from half to three-quarters of the total amount of that glass which has survived. The Minster has ancient glass in 109 windows, most of them complete ; the parish churches that have any old glass, fifteen in number, possess amongst them over 70 windows that contain ancient glass in all amounts from small pieces to whole windows. York is the paradise of the student of old glass.

This glass has been wonderfully, almost miraculously, preserved. Restoration so-called, in reality substitution, has left its hand on the Minster as well as on the parish churches. Whole windows have been removed and new ones have taken their place. Yet, even though for eleven weeks before the battle of Marston Moor York was besieged by three separate Parliamentary armies, which did some damage to the Minster and the glass, the seventeenth century passed without serious effect on one of the greatest treasures which the city possessed. Thomas Mace, a musician of that period, describing as an eyewitness his experiences of the siege, says that the enemy aimed with their guns at the Minster, and even during divine service "would not fail to make their hellish disturbance by shooting against and battering the church, in so much that sometimes a cannon bullet has come in at the windows and bounc'd about from pillar to pillar (even like some furious fiend or evil spirit), backwards and forwards, and all manner of sideways, as it has happened to meet with square or round opposition amongst the pillars, in its return or rebounds, until its force has been quite spent." When the Puritan forces occupied the city, however, further damage was prevented by the governor, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, according to tradition, took out the windows to protect them from the fanaticism of the soldiers.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, York was fortunate in having a tireless antiquary in James Torre. Torre's interests embraced not only

medieval documents, such as chapter acts and archiepiscopal registers, which he examined and from which he compiled lists of clergy of various kinds, but also churches, stained glass, and genealogy. His manuscript volumes, which are evidence of amazing industry, are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, and amongst them is a description of every panel of old glass in the windows of the Minster. Though comparatively few changes have been made in the windows since his time, and those due mainly to the destructive fires of 1829 and 1840, which gutted the nave and the choir respectively, and from which the Minster has never really recovered, Torre's manuscript is invaluable in enabling the student to arrive at an idea of the changes that have taken place. It deserves to be printed. It will be referred to constantly in the course of this account of the Minster glass. Even before Torre's time, not all the windows were in their original condition, as there had been rearrangement of many of the panels. The medieval Fabric Rolls, which exist in some quantity from about the middle of the fourteenth century, contain references to the glazing of the windows, and give valuable information about the names of, and the payments to, glass-painters, and about the sources and the cost of the coloured glass, which came mostly from Flanders and the Rhine, but they are valueless as regards the contents of individual windows. Torre's is the first complete record of their contents.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a restoration on a fairly large scale. Two windows in the Lady Chapel had been altered a little in the early part of the century,[1] but it was not until the time of William Peckitt that any trace was left in the glass itself of considerable restoration. Peckitt was a York man, and was buried in the church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Micklegate, near which he had lived.[2] His reputation as a glass-painter was much more than local. While one is tempted to regret some portions of his work at

[1] See p. 75.

[2] See Chapter IX.

York, which will be pointed out later, we really ought to be thankful that, in an age when the priceless Early English glass of Salisbury Cathedral was being ruthlessly destroyed, in York Minster Peckitt contented himself with re-leading a window here and there, putting his date upon it, and substituting his own tracery glass for the original, and spared the Five Sisters Window at a time when grisaille glass was counted to be dull, and brilliant colours, which Peckitt knew well how to produce, were much in favour. In the whole Minster only four windows, in the south transept, are entirely filled with his glass.

The opening of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw York Minster in possession of nearly all its medieval glass. Nay, more, there is a record that in the year 1819 Dean Markham had in a box kept in one of the vestries of the Minster a quantity of medieval glass from the Bedern Chapel, the old chapel, which was restored in the year 1924, of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster. This chapel was built in the year 1349, and, according to Torre, was glazed with six windows that contained old glass. At least one window in the nave of the Minster contains some of this glass, doubtless inserted after the fire of 1840.

In the meantime the disastrous fire of 1829 had destroyed the wooden roof, and damaged the glass and the stonework, of the eastern arm. Its effects on the glass are apparent in the Lady Chapel, where the fire burned fiercely, and not only damaged so severely three or four of the Early Perpendicular windows that they are only shadows of their former selves, but even made it necessary to fill three or four windows with plain glass. Thirteen lights were so substituted ; and it has been possible to trace only five of the thirteen figures that decorated these lights. Yet the wonder is that a fire so thorough and complete as accounts and pictures reveal it to have been spared any of the glass. Fifteen clerestory windows and eighteen others, including the three enormous " walls of glass," the East Window and

the St. Cuthbert and St. William Windows, bear witness to the mercies of a kindly Providence.

Eleven years after this irreparable disaster, a fire on the same scale burnt out the nave. Fortunately, it was less destructive in its effects on the glass than the fire in the choir. Only one window has disappeared entirely—the second from the west in the south aisle; and it was possible to replace it largely with glass from one of the windows in the Lady Chapel damaged in the fire of 1829. Beyond this, and beyond the addition of six panels to the second window from the east in the south aisle, the glass of the nave differs very little now from what it was a century ago.

There have been more changes in the transepts and in the chapter-house. Under the will of Dr. Stephen Beckwith, whose memorial is in the north transept, the whole of the chapter-house was restored in the years 1843 to 1845. The scheme of restoration included the east window; but even if some of the original fourteenth-century glass may have been used again in the medallions, the whole of the grisaille which fills alternate rows in the window is modern; and the brown enamel leaf-pattern which it displays is of poor design and workmanship compared with that in the other windows. The latter is free and natural; the former has the regularity and the conventionality of the freehand-drawing copy. Here again, however, there is cause for thankfulness, for at least the original design of this window was copied. At such a time it would not have been surprising if a new design had been introduced. Of the fifteen windows in the vestibule and the chapter-house, only this has been so drastically restored.

There is a different tale to be told about the transepts, where the only considerable remnant of the glory that has departed is the Five Sisters Window, with two smaller panels in the south transept. The nineteenth century is represented by four small windows in the south transept, two in each aisle on the south wall, and, in the north transept, by four new windows, inserted in the

year 1861, in the west aisle, and five restorations in the years 1901 and 1902 in the north transept. It is strange that in the oldest portion of the present building is to be found the newest glass.

On the whole, therefore, the medieval windows of York Minster have been wonderfully preserved; and the Minster enjoys deservedly the reputation of being England's chief treasure-house of medieval glass. Except for general notices in books on the Minster, however, and in such treatises as Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*, Winston's *On Glass Painting*, and (to mention two modern works) Maurice Drake's *History of English Stained Glass* and Le Couteur's recent book in the present series, and for short papers in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* and in the *Proceedings* of other societies, no complete catalogue of the Minster glass has appeared since Torre's time, except Mr. George Benson's account of it and of the glass in the parish churches of York, which appeared in the year 1914, was of limited circulation, and is out of print. Various writers have been attracted by certain aspects of the glass, such as the heraldry; but this is only part of a vast subject. The old glass of the parish churches of York has received even less attention from students and writers, and, with the exception of notices in guide-books, which are necessarily scant and often inadequate, it would be difficult to refer the student to anything at all in print about it. It might receive more attention were it not in the same city as the glass of the Minster.

Work on the restoration or the preservation of the ancient windows of York Minster and the parish churches has been more or less constant with the growth of the demand for it. So frail a thing as glass does not last for ever. Some kinds of old glass are more durable than other kinds. The York Minster glass has been shown by Mr. Noel Heaton to be deficient in silica, and therefore to be less able to withstand the combined effects of time, wind, and weather than the glass of many other places. This is probably the chief cause of

the decay of the windows of the Minster. For the last forty years the work of restoring the windows has been proceeding, but it is only since November 1920 that preservation on a large scale has been attempted. During the War, the danger of air-raids compelled the Dean and Chapter to order the removal of the windows. As window after window was taken out to be buried in a dug-out under the City walls in the Deanery garden, the precarious condition of the glass was revealed as never before. Not only was the lead-work in need of renewal, but also the fabric of the glass was pitted with holes, and scores of small pieces were missing altogether. A survey was made of the windows that had not recently been re-leaded ; and it was decided to issue an appeal for £50,000 to be spent on the preservation of the remaining windows. Up to the present time, just over forty windows have been " preserved "—to use the correct technical term. While the cost of preserving many windows has been borne by a general fund, various groups of people and either cities or towns have made themselves responsible for the cost of preserving individual windows. In this way, counting the Five Sisters Window, twenty-five windows will be connected with the groups of people who have preserved them. The money in hand will probably finish during the year 1927 all the windows that are still in need of preservation except the chapter-house windows, which are being left till the last. As the glass in the parish churches is mostly in a very good condition, when the scheme for preserving the windows of the Minster is completed the old glass in the city of York will be safe for centuries to come.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSEPTS

If the transepts possessed no medieval glass except the Five Sisters Window, the glory of the north transept and one of the wonders of the world, the student of old glass would have no just cause for complaint. Yet, of the enormous building schemes which produced the present Minster, the one that can boast the smallest proportion of its original glazing is the first, which conceived the transepts and the Early English bell-tower that crowned them. Apart altogether from the small windows in the clerestory, three in each bay, there are nineteen windows in the south transept, and twenty-one in the north transept; and of these forty only seven contain contemporary glass. Five of the seven form the Five Sisters Window. The other two are in the south wall of the west aisle of the south transept, and the Early English glass which they contain consists of a panel in each which fills the heads of the windows. All the glass in question is grisaille.

There can be no doubt that all the windows in the aisles and in the end walls of the transepts were glazed with Early English glass. There are, however, very little data for forming an opinion as to the kind of glass that filled any of the forty windows except the Five Sisters Window. Whether they were mostly picture windows, with the subjects arranged in medallions, of the kind that have survived at Salisbury and Westminster and Lincoln, or whether many of them contained portions of a Jesse tree, as at Margaretting, in Essex, will probably never be known. The presence of the two panels of grisaille in the south transept, and of a little grisaille of the same date in certain clerestory windows

FIVE SISTERS WINDOW.

YORK MINSTER.

[*Photographed by Catcheside.*

facing p. 8.

of the nave, is evidence that grisaille glass filled other windows besides the Five Sisters Window. The two panels appear to be a little earlier in date than the larger panels which form the Five Sisters Window. If this is so, they are the oldest glass of their kind in the country. It is tempting to think that the grisaille of the south transept, which was finished in 1241, when Archbishop Walter de Gray chose his place of burial and made the arrangements for his chantry in the middle bay of the east aisle, set the fashion for glazing in the second half of the thirteenth century; but the small amount of evidence in favour of this is not enough for anything more than the expression of a pious hope. And it is considerably weakened by the absence in Torre of any reference to these two panels, as in his time both windows, like the corresponding pair in the east aisle, were filled with plain white glass.

In certain of the clerestory windows of the nave, however, to which reference is made below,[1] there are remains of subject panels which are of thirteenth-century date, and which measurement shows to have been quite probably taken from the transept windows.[2] These panels are square in shape, and each of them has for its base a side of a square and not a corner. Some of the Early English panels in the south transept at Lincoln Cathedral are square, and stand on a side. The probability is, therefore, that the Early English panels in the nave clerestory at York were preserved from the transepts, possibly when the Perpendicular glass in the aisles and in the south wall of the transepts was inserted. It seems probable, therefore, that the transepts contained in the smaller windows both grisaille and picture glass; but there is no clue to the plan in which it was arranged or to the proportion of the amount of each kind to the whole amount of glass in the transepts.

[1] See p. 36.

[2] The window-spaces of the narrowest lights in the south transept are 42 inches across. The panels in question are about 28 inches square. Set in a floral background and between broad borders, these panels are about the right size for lights of this width.

While therefore there is a much smaller proportion of contemporary glass in the transepts than there is in any other part of the Minster, in seven out of the forty windows, yet in six windows in the north transept and in eleven in the south transept there is medieval glass of the Perpendicular period. Of these seventeen windows, ten are in the east walls, five in each aisle. They all contain single figures of saints against backgrounds of quarries, a style of glazing which came into fashion in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and is a pleasing relief and reaction from the canopy style which in three well-marked forms had held the field for over a century ; and this style is found again, though in glass of a later date, in three York parish churches, St. Martin, Coney Street, St. John, Micklegate, and St. Michael-le-Belfrey. While Perpendicular glass in a Decorated window-space conveys the impression of a violent anachronism, these Perpendicular figures in lancet lights are entirely satisfactory. They do not fill the window-spaces, and so there is room for borders in which a plain stem is ornamented with flowers and foliage designed with much restraint, and for shields above, and, in some cases, below also.

It is not known how long the Early English glass lasted in the transepts. The presumption is that a wholesale substitution of the present Perpendicular glass in the east walls, in the south wall, and in the west wall of the north transept was made during the treasurership of Robert Wolveden (1426–32), as his shield, *azure a chevron engrailed or between three wolves' heads or*, is found once in the glass of each aisle. The five windows in the east aisle of the south transept have, happily, suffered little in the course of five centuries. Those on the east side of the north transept were restored in the years 1901 and 1902, and very little of the original glass remains. When the bay nearest to the choir in each of these aisles was wider, in the days of the twelfth-century choir of Archbishop Roger, which was narrower than the present choir by about 10 feet in each aisle,

there was a sixth window in each of the east aisles of the transepts. There is no record, however, of the contents of these two windows.

Fragments of name-plates below the figures have survived only in one or two windows, but the figures are easily recognisable. Counting from north to south, they are: (1) St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Stephen, and St. Nicholas, in the north transept; and (2) St. William of York, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Gabriel the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, and the Virgin and the Child, in the south transept. In each transept there were in the three bays three chantry chapels. The dedications of three only are known with certainty. These are St. Nicholas in the north transept (under the window which contains his figure), St. Michael the Archangel, and the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist in the two wide bays of the south transept. It is clear, therefore, that the figures in three of the windows above these chapels were inserted as the result of their dedications, for all three chapels are of older date than the windows. It was a happy idea thus to proclaim the names of the saints after whom the chapels were called.

The oldest chantry foundation in the present building was that of the chapel in the middle bay of the east aisle of the south transept. There were naturally chantry altars in the Romanesque church, but not in large numbers. The total number of these founded in the present church from the beginning of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century of which there is documentary evidence was not far short of forty. That of Walter de Gray, Archbishop from 1215 to 1255, was founded in the year 1241, when, as the transept which he had begun was finished, he directed that he should be buried in the middle bay of the east aisle of the south transept, before the altar of St. Michael the Archangel. When the Early English glass was replaced by the present Perpendicular glass, it was natural to choose the figure of St. Michael for one of the windows, and for

the other window in the same chapel the figure of St. Gabriel the Archangel, who is seldom found except as part of a representation of the Annunciation. The shields above the heads of these figures are those of St. Peter and St. Paul.

South of the tomb of Walter de Gray is a slab with a plain cross which probably marks the burial-place of Godfrey de Ludham, Archbishop from 1258 to 1265, for whose soul a chantry was founded in the year 1273 at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist. If Godfrey was buried here, the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the window of the southernmost bay is explained. Above her head is the shield of Bryan (*azure three piles or*). In the next window the figure of St. John the Baptist, at whose feet kneel two figures, the scrolls above their heads being almost unintelligible, is not so easy to account for. Torre interpreted it as the figure of our Lord, but his readings were often at fault, and the robe of camel's hair in which the figure is clothed is decisive in its evidence against his conclusion. Above the Baptist's head is the shield attributed to St. William of York, over whose figure in the remaining bay of this aisle is the shield of Robert Wolveden. Sufficient of the scroll under the figure of St. William is left for the identity of the saint to be certain. The dedication of the chapel underneath it is unknown. Both the scroll which is twined round Wolveden's shield and the border of the window proclaim his name.

Of the corresponding five figures in the north transept, those of St. Stephen and St. Nicholas contain much of their original glass. A chantry at the altar of St. Nicholas was founded in the year 1346 for the soul of William Greenfield, Archbishop from 1304 to 1315, by Richard of Chester. Greenfield's tomb, with the Decorated canopy above it and the fragment of the brass on the slab, survives as the only example of its period in the Minster, which, doubtless owing to the fires of 1829 and 1840, is deficient compared with many other cathedrals

in medieval tombs. The restored chapel in the middle bay is now called after St. Nicholas, with a regrettable disregard of history. The original dedication of this chapel, as of the one in the next bay northwards, is unknown. The modern figures of St. Peter, St. Paul,

FIFTH DAY OF CREATION.
(East Window, York Minster.)

and St. Lawrence are heavy and undistinguished; with the other seven original figures in this series in existence it is difficult to understand why these modern ones are not more faithful copies of the originals. The shields in the windows, reading from north to south, are of Latimer, King Edwin (with that of St. Paul below

the figure), Archbishop Scrope, who had been beheaded in the year 1405, a quarter of a century before these windows were originally inserted (with that of St. Lawrence below the figure), St. Paul (with that of the City of York below), and Roger Wolveden. The modern shields are additions made when the windows were restored.

The glass in the south wall is of five distinct periods. The two Early English panels in the west aisle have been referred to. The four large windows which form the middle row of lights in the south wall belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The circular window in the gable appears to be of the very end of the fifteenth century. The two windows on each side of the doorway are of Peckitt's work, and are the only four complete examples in the Minster from his hand. In the aisles are four modern windows of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet, unless familiarity dulls the critical sense, the effect of the whole is pleasing though flat.

The defect of the four large Perpendicular windows in the south wall is that the coloured glass does not fill the lancet-shaped spaces which it occupies. This is a serious fault in canopy windows. It is true that lancet lights and canopies do not agree, because the shape of the lancets does not allow of any freedom in the design of the side pinnacles. The canopies in these windows are characteristic in design, being octagonal and heavily buttressed, of Early Perpendicular glass. The fragments of lettering, the drawing of the features, the colouring of the robes, and the borders, are decisive in placing this group of four in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The middle window is a broad lancet which is divided, under the small compartment of glass at the top, which shows a picture of our Lord crowned and holding the globe and the cross, into two other lancets containing the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. The blue robe of St. Peter and the red robe of St. Paul are striking and

bold. Underneath each is the shield-of-arms assigned to him at a period soon after heraldry first began. This large central lancet is flanked by two others of almost the same height. These contain the figures of St. William of York (on the east) and St. Wilfrid (on the west). Underneath are their shields, the only way in which they can be identified. The head and the mitre of St. William are restorations by Peckitt, who was paid the sum of eighteen shillings for his work on them. He has left his date, 1790, at the foot of the westernmost window of the group.

The circular window in the gable is regarded by some as being modern ; but, while the glass in the inner circle has been restored, that in the outer ring, containing as it does white and red roses, appears to belong to the period of the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster at the end of the fifteenth century. Torre mentions the representations in the window as a large marigold and several little marigolds. The flowers in the outer ring are undoubtedly roses, and that in the inner circle may be a sunflower or a marigold.

The four Peckitt windows in the south wall are interesting examples of the art of enamel painting on glass as it was practised at the end of the eighteenth century. At a distance the broad effect of the masses of colour, mainly red and blue of rich hue, is hardly noticeable in a building which is so suitable for broad effects. A near view, however, reveals defects that are the shortcomings of the period rather than of the painter. In contrast to the style of the fifteenth-century artist, who used time and again the same cartoon with changes in colouring for different figures, Peckitt has attempted to express the characters of Abraham, Solomon, Moses, and St. Peter. He has succeeded least with Solomon, who is supposed to typify Truth, but who is an inoffensive, prosperous-looking young man, and impresses the beholder with a very mild conception of the truth. Abraham, as Faith, is sufficiently corpulent and majestic to suggest

the immovability and the strength of faith. Moses and St. Peter, the former holding the tables of stone and representing Righteousness, and the latter an insertion after Peckitt's death, are examples of better design and characterisation. The shield of the arms of the See of York under the figure of St. Peter is perhaps the best thing in the set of four windows. The square panels in conventional designs that are beneath the other three figures are weak in colouring and unsatisfactory in design. In Torre's time the only window in this series that contained coloured glass was the third from the east, which had a figure of our Lady, and, under it, a figure of Alderman Petty, once Lord Mayor of York, kneeling at prayer, the following inscription being on the scroll: *Orate pro anima Johannis Pety glasiarii et Majoris Ebor, qui obiit viii* [*die*] *Novembris* A.D. 1508. The medieval glass in this window was therefore of late date. The Petty family were well-known glass-painters in York from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, and are mentioned in Fabric Rolls[1] between 1446 and 1456 and between 1469 and 1510.

Before leaving the south transept, the student of old glass should notice the two medieval windows in the west wall. These have lost their original borders, having been planned for smaller window-spaces. They are now set in broad white borders relieved by glass in pale red and blue strips. The origin of these two windows is one of the problems of the windows of the Minster. In Torre's time the space which they occupy was filled with white glass. They may have been brought from a parish church. Their subject is the worship of God as idealised in the *Te Deum*. There are five groups of people in each window, and the fragments of the scrolls show not merely that two of the panels, the third and the fifth from the top in the north window, are out of their correct order, but also that the original window must have been much larger than these two

[1] See pp. 66 and 67.

put together, for after the phrase "Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter," to which the top panel in the north window probably refers, there is a gap until the phrase "O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine heritage." The whole of the middle portion of the hymn is omitted. A detailed examination of the windows cannot be made here, but the observer should notice that some of the groups are under the low canopies which were used in the first quarter of the fifteenth century to crown square panels of glass, as in the east window of the Minster. One of the subjects, the third from the top in the south window, seems to represent our Lord opening the book with the seven seals (Rev. v. and vi.); the chief figure has almost disappeared, but the hand, which has broken one of the seals, and the book remain. In the fourth panel of the window there is a representation of the Blessed Trinity: the Father is blessing His people, the Son is on the cross, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovers near the head of the Son. This is a common representation of the Trinity, and is found elsewhere in the Minster, and in the churches of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, St. Martin's, Coney Street, and All Saints', North Street. The emblems of the four Evangelists appear in this panel, at the corners. In these two windows God the Father is usually represented with a face of shining gold. In medieval glass there are comparatively few pictures of Him, most artists being content to give a suggestion of His presence in a group of the Three Persons by means of a blue robe and perhaps a hand. In the middle panel of the north window of these two, He is represented as the Architect of the Universe, with orb and compasses.

It would be imposible to find or to imagine a design for the decoration of a wall-space that was simpler and at the same time more satisfactory than that of the north wall of the north transept. The architect had not a free hand with the south wall of the south transept because of the necessity of providing a doorway.

The filling of the north wall of the north transept with ten lancet lights, five in the gable and five below, was a stroke of genius which has never failed to charm those who see it for the first time and to continue to give them delight. The design is the fitting completion of a striking conception, and, for breadth and simplicity, matches the transepts as nothing else could. Torre omits any mention of the five lancet lights in the gable, which for the past half-century or more have been filled with modern grisaille in imitation, feeble and unflattering, of the thirteenth-century grisaille below; and he dismisses the Five Sisters Window as containing "little or no imagery," being "adorned with coloured glass variously branched and flowered." Drake says of them: "The painted glass represents a kind of embroidery or needlework. . . . In the year 1715 they [i.e. the five lights] were much set off in their beauty by a small border of clear glass which runs round the painted and illustrates it wonderfully." A border is still there, but it is not of clear glass, which is not the best kind of border. Most of Torre's successors as historians of York Minster, except John Browne, have followed his example and given to this window far less attention than it deserves as one of the most remarkable windows in the world.

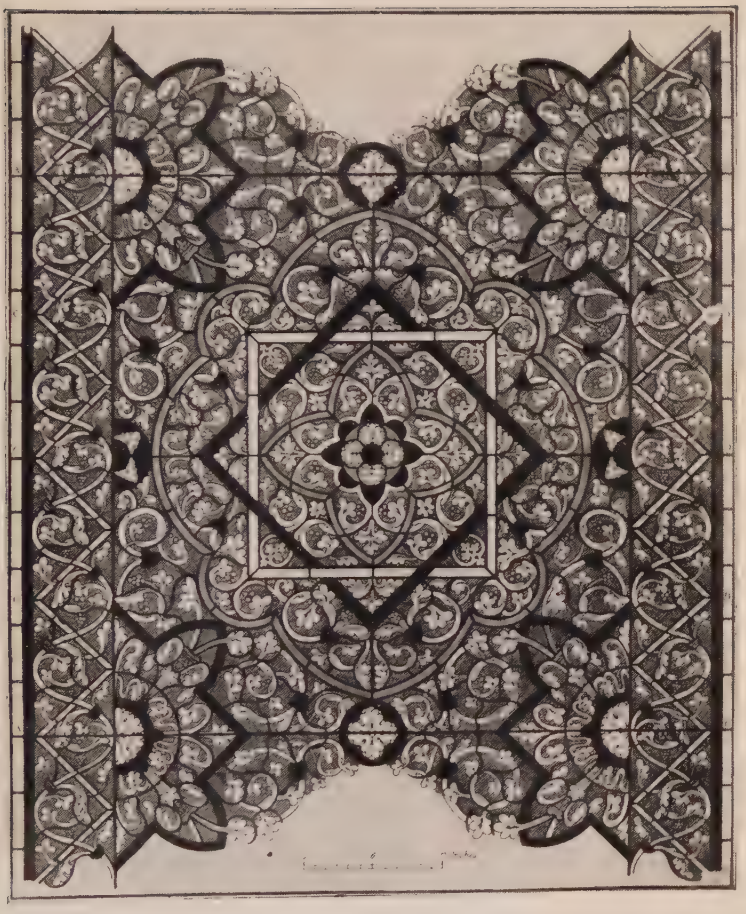
The window was removed, "preserved," and replaced, between May 1923 and June 1925. Before, its prevailing colour was a greenish-yellow. This was due to the presence on the outside of the protecting shield of glass of a thin film left by rain and water containing impurities such as oxide of iron from the rusty saddle-bars. The window is now, as it was originally, of a pearly-grey colour. Most of the brown enamel leaf-pattern has disappeared, and there is much plain, toned glass in every panel. The window is, however, a monument to the patience and the skill of the modern glaziers who have handled it so reverently. In the 1,250 square feet of glass which form the window there are over 100,000 pieces, all replaced in the positions

in which they were found, and leaded up in thirteenth-century lead, which had been melted down from the lead of Rievaulx Abbey and buried with the King's seal on it until it was excavated at the west end of the nave of the abbey in time to be used in the releading of the window.

Except for the coloured insertions, which now form the chief pattern of the windows, and, being of different designs for the five lights, are repeated in the twelve or thirteen panels which form a single light, the grisaille itself would be dull and lifeless. With the slender lines of the coloured patterns in each panel, however, the whole window is transformed. At a distance they cannot be seen; and the visitor who first sees the window from the door of the south transept is content with the grace of the five slender lights and with the dim light which, even though they are north windows, they admit. A nearer view demands something more; and, most of the leaf-pattern on the grisaille having disappeared during a period of nearly seven centuries, and what there is left of this pattern being disconnected and broken up, the coloured glass supplies interest and beauty. Thorough in his study of the design of this window as he was in drawing the details of the architecture, John Browne included in his volume of plates a coloured plate of a panel from each light as he conceived it to have been originally. The lights are all different; there is no attempt at symmetry, as there would have been even fifty years later, when the first and the fifth light would have been of the same pattern throughout, the second would have been like the fourth, and the middle light would have been different from all the rest. The wide borders all contain conventional foliage designs, grouped round semicircles in the first light, a stem of varying widths in the second, circles grouped round a stem of leaves in the third, a flowing scroll alternating with and cutting through a zigzag line in the fourth, and in the fifth circular stem-forms round a wider zigzag, with a narrower inner border of

a double zigzag. The treatment of the panels shows a similar variety: (1) a circle with eight semicircular projections from its circumference; (2) a square on its edge, with four large segments of circles projecting from its sides; (3) two intersecting squares, with geometrical designs outside and inside; (4) two similar intersecting squares, with geometrical designs outside and inside; and (5) a large annulet containing a series of eight arcs which touch its inner edge at eight points. In spite of slight variation from panel to panel in the same light, generally of colour, and of occasional previous restorations which have destroyed the patterns of some of the panels, the preservation of the regularity of the design of each light is a matter for thankfulness. No words can do justice to the distant or the near effect of the window; and the glass in it remains, since the wanton destruction of the Salisbury grisaille at the end of the eighteenth century, without a rival in English grisaille either in quantity or in the state of its preservation.

The only windows that have not so far been noticed are those in the west aisle of the north transept. The four in the west wall and the one nearest to the corner in the north wall are all comparatively new, and were inserted in the year 1861. They show the influence of the Gothic revival, for they are of the medallion style, with broad borders, and in colouring and design are strongly reminiscent of twelfth-century work. While not so satisfactory as the old glass of that period, they might easily be less satisfactory, for their colours are not offensive to the eye, not being arranged in large masses, and the figures are free and natural. The subjects, starting at the south end of the chapel, four in each window, are from the lives of Caleb, Joshua, Gideon, and David; while the window in the north wall illustrates three subjects from the lives of Solomon, Moses, and Samuel. Subjects from the Old Testament are sufficiently rare in York Minster, and indeed, in all old glass, to be welcome when they are met with.



FIVE SISTERS WINDOW. ONE PANEL.

FROM A DRAWING BY JOHN BROWNE.

YORK MINSTER.

facing p. 20.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

The other window in the north wall, the window through which Jonathan Martin, the incendiary of the choir, escaped in the early morning of February 3, 1829, is of plain white glass except for a large rosette of red and white, another allusion doubtless to the union of the Roses at the end of the fifteenth century.

In Torre's time the only coloured glass in this aisle, in addition to the rosette, was in the two windows in the middle bay, which contained, reading from south to north, (1) an archbishop ; over his head, the shield of the See of York, and under his feet the kneeling figure of another archbishop ; and (2) a shield with no bearing noted, and underneath the figure of St. Michael the Archangel killing the dragon, beneath which was the figure of a man at prayer, with a scroll round his head. The new chapel in this aisle, the War Memorial of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, has been named St. Michael's Chapel, though the medieval chapel of St. Michael, which cannot be restored as a chapel owing to the presence of the tomb of Walter de Gray, was in the south transept. The title is appropriate, seeing that a figure of St. Michael was in one of the windows. It is permissible to conclude that during the treasurership of Robert Wolveden all the small lancet lights in the aisles of both transepts were filled with representations of single figures, without canopies, against ornamented quarries. Very little more of this glass was in existence at the end of the seventeenth century than has survived to the present day.

A survey of the glass of the transepts therefore shows that there is glass of several periods ; and, on the whole, considering that the more modern glass has to compete with that of the Five Sisters Window, the general effect is more than pleasing.

CHAPTER III

THE NAVE

Nearly all the Decorated glass of the Minster is contained in the nave, the chapter-house, and the vestibule, in forty-three windows, that is, in four out of every ten windows in the Minster that still possess medieval glass. This number includes the clerestory windows of the nave, all of which possess glass of other periods, older or more recent, but all of which have some Decorated glass. It does not take into account the east window of the chapter-house, as it is very doubtful whether much or indeed any of the original glass was re-inserted after the restoration of the years 1843 to 1845. In no other part of the Minster is there any glass of the first half of the fourteenth century, though, as will be seen later, some of the windows in the choir that are Early Perpendicular in date are Decorated in style. Now that the glass of the transepts has been described, there is no other part of the Minster which contains medieval glass that is not contemporary with the stone-work. In the present chapter the glass of the nave will be described.

Nowhere else can so much Decorated glass be seen in one and the same building as in the nave of York Minster. The windows on the north and the south of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, are a delight, and would occupy a prominent place in any account of Decorated glass in England. Many cathedrals and large churches, prominent amongst them Wells Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey, possess much glass of this period and style. But York Minster, in this as in glass of the Early English and Middle Perpendicular

styles, is *facile princeps*. The student of old glass cannot do better than begin his study of the glass of these styles at York. For earlier glass he will go to Canterbury and will not forget Lincoln ; for later glass he will turn his steps to Fairford and to King's College Chapel, Cambridge ; for more perfect examples of the Early Perpendicular style he will find the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford, all that he can desire. But for the greatest and best-preserved quantities of glass of three periods he will not need to go outside York Minster.

The silver stain that was introduced at the beginning of the fourteenth century is so prominent in the design of the windows of the nave, and so much of it has remained, even though, as in one or two windows, there is a good deal of pot-metal yellow, that in commencing a general description of these windows it is well to point this out. If the observer will stand in the crossing so that he can see the Five Sisters Window, in which originally there was very little yellow glass, and several of the windows of the nave, he will appreciate the part that the new colouring played in making typical Decorated windows. In colour these were a complete breakaway from grisaille glass, which was, however, used freely for alternate belts, but relieved either with shields of arms or with small medallions containing heads or whole figures. In their use of representations of groups of people the artists were merely following the example of their Norman and Transitional predecessors. As a rule, each of these groups was placed under a canopy consisting of a gable ornamented with crockets and finials and, as the new style developed, surmounted at its sides with pinnacles similarly adorned. The amount of yellow stain used in the canopies varied considerably ; sometimes there is a considerable amount of white glass used. But the stain is never absent ; and until the heavier enamels were discovered it remained, with the older brown enamel method, the only way of imparting colour to the surface of glass until

the sixteenth century. Even in lettering, the Norman method was departed from, and by means of a combination of yellow stain and brown enamel the yellow letters were made to stand out boldly from the darker background. There are few examples of lettering in the windows of the nave. The greatest quantities of it are found in the first and second windows from the east in the north aisle, in the third from the west in the south aisle, and in the second from the west on the north side of the clerestory. Originally there was much in the west window, under the figures of the archbishops in the lowest row of figures; but all this has disappeared. There are whole windows without a fragment of lettering in them.

The design of the typical window in the nave consists therefore chiefly of a belt of grisaille relieved in each panel with a shield of arms or a small medallion, and a group of figures under the kind of canopies which have been described. This occupies three panels in each light; and it is repeated above. The Merton College windows have only one belt of coloured glass. Then come the "head and shoulders" of the window, which are of the simplest geometrical shape, and are filled with grisaille. The borders and the tracery finish off the design. The former contain a variety of subjects, such as human figures, heraldry, and animals, and these are continued along the foot of the lowest panel in each light. Usually the borders of the first and third lights are alike; that of the middle is different from them. In the borders of the third window from the east in the north aisle serious representations give place to such humorous subjects as the monkey's funeral and the hunting with bow and arrows of the fox that has been stealing the fowls. The borders of Decorated and Perpendicular windows, unlike those of the Five Sisters Window, are full of meaning, and should on no account be passed over as of no interest or value. The shape of the three tracery lights of each of the aisle windows is a simple quatrefoil, which was

BELLFOUNDERS WINDOW.
NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

ST. GABRIEL THE ARCHANGEL.
SOUTH TRANSEPT.

HERALDIC WINDOW.
NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

filled with Decorated glass. Now, however, three windows in the south aisle and one in the north aisle have in the quatrefoils Peckitt's glass in conventional designs, which is easily recognisable and in which he has usually inserted a date. This glass is beautiful in itself, but out of place in a treasure-house of Decorated glass.

The west window follows the general lines of design that have been described, but the long lights demand three belts of coloured glass with grisaille separating them, instead of two. In the two middle lights there are four. For the first time in the Decorated glass of York Minster large figures are found. The row of archbishops in the lowest belt and the row of apostles in the second belt provide nineteen of these figures. The archbishops are handsomely vested, each in mitre, pallium, and chasuble with the other vestments underneath the chasuble. Each has an apparel on his left glove, and also at the foot of his alb. They are, however, purely conventional figures, drawn from two cartoons, four from one cartoon alternating with four from the other. It will perhaps never be certain now whom they are all supposed to represent. Torre's reading of the inscriptions appears to have been merely guesswork. According to him, the first three, counting from south to north, were St. John of Beverley, Thomas of Bayeux (the builder of the eleventh-century cathedral), and St. Wilfrid, and the last three, Oswald, St. William of York, and Sewal de Bovil (archbishop from 1256 to 1258). Torre prefixes the title of " saint " to all the names. There is, however, no trace of their halos in the window. The middle two figures he evidently could not identify. Recent cleaning has not revealed the identity of any of them, as the scrolls or name-plates have disappeared and the apparel cannot in any single case be given a meaning that will help to this end. In the second row are representations of eleven apostles. There are two apostles in each of the first, second, and eighth lights, only the head of

the second apostle in each of these lights being visible, but none of these pairs can be identified. The only ones whose names are certain are St. John, in the third light, a very young figure, St. Peter and St. Paul, in the fourth and fifth, and St. James, who holds the shell, in the sixth. The third row of subjects should be read in pairs, each pair forming one subject, namely, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. In the third light, the Blessed Virgin has the Child at her breast, while St. Joseph, an old man, sits (fourth light) on a throne. Between them is a building like a church. Below the rising figure of our Lord are the soldiers, asleep. In the eighth light, His head is seen above the groups of kneeling figures. The two figures at the head of the two middle lights are of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, enthroned as King and Queen of Heaven.

Not only in the large figures, however, but also in the canopies, the design of the window foreshadows the next period of glass design. Apart from the gabled canopies over the figures in the first three rows, which are yellow in colour, the remainder of the canopies are almost pure white, and, at the top, are buttressed, tabernacled, and pinnacled in the style of fifty years later.

The most striking feature of the west window is, however, not its glass, beautiful as this is when the setting sun shines through it, but its curvilinear tracery, the central feature of which is a large heart. The nave was not far short of sixty years in building (1291 to 1350) ; and this window was inserted in the year 1338. Comparison with the curvilinear tracery of the famous windows at Selby Abbey and Carlisle Cathedral, though sometimes made, is not any more profitable than such comparisons usually are. The west window at York, apart from its glass, is exceptionally beautiful. The tracery glass shows white leaves against coloured diapered backgrounds. The borders of the lights have various devices against coloured backgrounds—crowns, leopards, leaves, and zigzag lines.

It is interesting to know that in the original indenture for the glazing of this window and of the two west windows in the aisles of the nave, which has unfortunately been lost, the keeper of the fabric, Thomas de Beneston, a vicar-choral, agreed to pay for white glass at the rate of 6*d.* a foot, and for coloured glass at double that rate. The window was restored in the year 1757 by Peckitt, who inserted several new heads, and fifty years later much new stonework replaced the old, which was giving way.

The two aisle windows in the west wall are of the same date as the west window, 1338, and both are obviously the work of the same glazier. The lights of each window contain three large figures, the middle one at a higher level than the other two, so that in the middle light the canopy consists of three small gables and is confined to the " head and shoulders " of the window, while in the side lights the canopies are buttressed and pinnacled above the gables, and are so large that each contains two long " tabernacles " (to use Torre's term), the upper one of each sheltering a figure. Below the chief subject in the central light, the Crucifixion on the south and the Virgin suckling the Child on the north, is a kneeling figure, which in each window is undoubtedly a restoration. Torre made out this figure to be a boy in the north window, and " a little image of a man, defaced," in the other. Both are now figures of old men, and are probably meant to represent the keeper of the fabric, Thomas de Beneston, whose name does not appear at all in the earliest records of the vicars-choral, and who would probably be an old man when he arranged for the two windows. The borders of both windows have been mutilated, but more in the north than in the south window ; originally they consisted in the side lights of gold cups and castles with portcullis against backgrounds of red and green, and in the middle light of oblong compartments under gables at the sides and golden leopards on a red ground in the " head and shoulders." The backgrounds of the large

figures are of coloured glass beautifully ornamented with flowers. The figures themselves in the side lights are St. Katherine and St. Margaret on the north, and the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on the south. The original tracery glass has remained in both windows. In the north window are representations of our Lord in glory, the crucifixion of St. Peter, and an unnamed saint (Torre says, "a holy man with a white towel about his loins"), and in the south a saint who holds a white lamb (according to Torre, "a holy woman carrying a charger"), a female saint, and St. Clare, who holds a tabernacle which reveals the Chalice and the Host. These two windows are excellent examples of later Decorated work, and of the transition to the Perpendicular style.

Three other windows in the aisles of the nave are noticeable for the departure in them from the usual design of the aisle windows. They are all in the south aisle. The second from the west is obviously a composite window. The six canopies below, all of them with buttresses and gables, are of modern make. The shields at the foot of the window are of Percy and Lucy (quartered), Clare, and Vavasour. White leaves on red and green backgrounds form the borders of the lowest three panels in each light. Above these panels are three large figures, of St. Stephen, St. Christopher (the only complete St. Christopher in the Minster with the exception of a very small representation in the tracery of the third window from the west in the north clerestory of the choir), and St. Lawrence. These three figures, like the remainder of the glass in this window, came from the second window from the east on the north side of the clerestory of the Lady Chapel, whence they were removed after the fire of 1829, and were inserted in their present position after the fire of 1840, which destroyed the original glass described by Torre. In the middle light, according to Torre, there was a representation of the creation of a Prince of Wales, evidently the Black Prince; but Torre's reading may

have been a mistaken one. The corresponding figures in the side lights were of St. Paul and St. Peter. The remainder of the window was glazed in the style which is exemplified in most of the aisle windows of the nave. Amongst the shields of arms were those of Castile and Leon, England and France quartered (probably a later insertion), Old France, and England. Even the tracery lights have been changed, the figures now being of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. The present borders are, in the side lights a yellow zigzag on a blue ground, and, in the middle light, white oak leaves on a red ground.

The second window which departs from the style usual in the nave aisle windows is the next window eastwards. This is a portion of a Jesse tree, and unfortunately it was mutilated in restoration by Peckitt, who inserted the glass in the quatrefoils, and put the date 1789 at the foot of the middle light as a reminder of his work and as a source of confusion to all but a few people. It is one of two Jesse trees in the Minster, the other being in the south aisle of the choir. The stem of the tree is coloured green, and is arranged in oval shapes round the figures. Of flowers and fruit there is hardly a trace ; and, apart from the mutilated figure in the middle light, in the elongated vesica, whom Torre identified as the Blessed Virgin Mary, only the following figures can with any certainty be named from the fragments of white Lombardic lettering on a black ground: Esdras and Ezekiel, both in the first light, and Daniel and possibly Joel, both in the third light. It is a pity that, if any names existed in Torre's time, he did not record them. He notices at the foot of the middle light two kings, whose bodies formed the roots of the tree, one of whom was David playing a harp. At the top of the middle light there is a representation of the head of our Lord.

The third window which shows a variation from the common design is the second from the east in the south aisle. Here Peckitt's glass is once more found in the quatrefoils, taking the place of figures of our Lady and

two angels. Peckitt, however, was not responsible for the mutilation of the glass in the lights, which was done before Torre's time, and took the form of removing the lowest panels of grisaille in each light and the gables above the lowest row of figures, and inserting in their places six coloured groups derived from no one knows where. The upper belt of groups, gables, and pinnacles is more or less complete, and the two subjects, the Annunciation in the first light and the Birth of Christ in the middle light, can be made out; the third group may be a fragment of the Adoration of the Magi, as a king can be seen, and Torre records three figures in the group. Of the other subjects, none are clear except (1) King Edward the Confessor and the beggar, (2) St. William of York crossing Ouse Bridge (in the third and second panels respectively from the base in the middle light), and (3) St. Margaret killing the dragon (in the second panel from the base in the third light).

The exact dates of the nave aisle windows can in very few cases be determined, and in those cases it is only the heraldry that gives any guidance. The clerestory windows are, however, fairly easily assignable to a definite year, again on account of the shields which they contain. Apart from this, however, the heraldry of the nave is so prominent a feature that it demands separate treatment. It includes a magnificent display in stone as well as in glass. By itself the collection of shields-of-arms in the nave is almost unrivalled in this country; taken with the shields in the transepts, the vestibule, the chapter-house, and the choir, it surpasses anything else of its kind. Originally the stone shields in both nave and choir were coloured. If they can again appear in their proper colours, the sight of them will be worth going far to see. Unfortunately, what is to be seen, splendid as it is, is not the whole of what once existed. It is not easy to arrive at the original disposition of the shields in either stone or glass, because, even though they have attracted the attention of students in all ages from the end of the sixteenth century

to the present time, their accounts vary and are difficult to reconcile with each other and with what probably was ever the fact. The fires of 1829 and 1840 and the consequent changes in the glass are responsible for much confusion, and the intricacies of the study of heraldry for much more. Enough remains, however, throughout the Minster, to suggest interesting conclusions about the building and the glass.

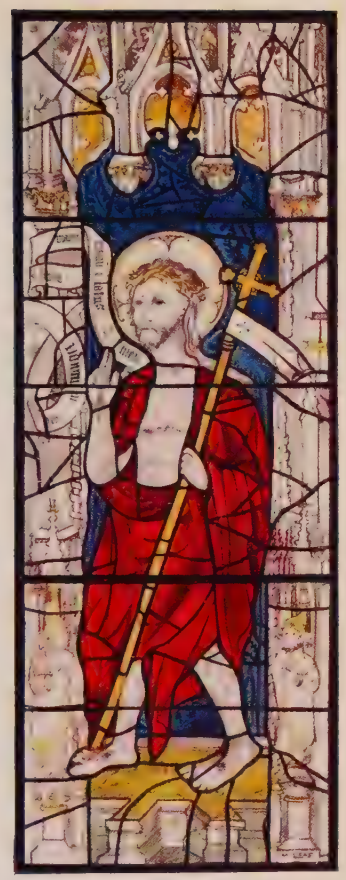
The stone shields in the spandrels of the arches of the nave arcades fall within the scope of this book only so far as they are connected with those in the glass. It is noticeable that, commencing at the lantern tower, they indicate, now roughly, but doubtless once more exactly, a gradation in the rank of their owners from royalty to the holders of baronies. Occasionally, a shield has been restored obviously in the wrong place; occasionally, as in the westernmost bays on each side, the same shield is found twice in the same bay. These are almost certainly either mistakes in restoration after the fire of 1840 or expressions of the deliberate intention of the builders to pay high compliment to the families of Percy and Vavasour. On the south side, the series commences with the English royal family, with England and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was beheaded in 1322, and passes through Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1310, and whose shield would precede those of the great nobles, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the son-in-law of Edward I, who died in 1295, and the Mauley family, who have three shields, to the two (old) Percy shields in the westernmost bay. On the north side a similar progression is apparent, from (Ancient) France (for Isabella, wife of Edward II) and Ulphus (with the horn), a shield which represents a great benefactor to the Minster, through a variant of the arms of the City of York, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1323, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, son-in-law of Edward I, who was killed at Boroughbridge in 1322, to four Ros shields and the two Vavasour

shields, which occupy the spandrels of the westernmost bay. Prominent amongst the shields on this side of the nave is that of Guy Beauchamp, second Earl of Warwick, the "Black Dog of Arden," whose "teeth" Gaveston felt in 1314.

The two series seem to represent the King and the Queen of England, most probably Edward II and Isabella, and their chief nobles. If the Bek shield is that of the Bishop of Durham—and the important position assigned to it points to this conclusion—then the row of shields on the south side was complete in 1310, when Bek died. On the north side, the *terminus ad quem* is the date of the death of Warwick in 1315. The *terminus a quo* may be any date after about 1300. The nave was not begun till 1291. Not only did the work of building proceed slowly, but it involved the demolition of the eleventh-century nave. The end of the reign of Edward I is too early a date to which to ascribe the completion of the shields in the stone. We are not left without some guidance on this question, for in 1309 Edward II met Parliament in York, and this is the most probable date. The roll of summonses to that Parliament bears out this conclusion.

It is most unlikely that the clerestory windows would be glazed before the task of otherwise decorating the bays of the arcades was finished. The openings would be glazed with plain glass until the opportunity arose to insert coloured glass. As has already been suggested, the design of the coloured glass windows did not proceed in accordance with a scheme which was drawn up before a single window was inserted. Some windows are individual gifts. These would most naturally be found in the aisles, for donors, then as now, preferred the most prominent positions for their gifts. As with the stone shields, so with the clerestory windows, an emergency or a train of events resulting in a great gathering of important people in the city was required to call forth a number of individual gifts which collectively could help to pay for the decoration

ST. THOMAS.



THE RISEN LORD.

NORTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

[*By permission of the Rev. P. J. Shaw.*

facing p. 32.

of a considerable number of large window-spaces. The next such occasion after 1309 was the meeting in York before the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

The seven clerestory windows on each side contained originally thirty-five large shields, five in each window, forming a belt of heraldic devices which are most effective as a means of decoration, and require only the assistance of colour in the stone shields below to produce an even more magnificent effect.[1] Many of these shields are found also in stone. This may be expected, seeing that representatives of the families met in York in 1314 that had been present in 1309. Rearrangement has been busy here as in the case of the stone shields, but the general order was the same in each window, namely, the Plantagenet shield in the middle light and two shields of nobles or otherwise prominent persons on each side of it. Sometimes the Plantagenet arms have either disappeared, as in the first window from the lantern tower on the south side, or been placed in one of the side lights, as in the second window on the north side, or even been reversed as well as displaced, as in the second window on the south side. Occasionally a more modern shield has been inserted in place of the original; examples are the arms of Lamplugh, probably for Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, who died in 1691, after restoring the window, which in Torre's time was boarded up as though the glass had been removed for restoration, and of Etton in the middle light of the same window (the easternmost on the south side), of Percy quartering Lucy in the third window from the east on the same side (in token of a marriage that took place about 1385), and of (probably) the City of York in the middle light of the first window from the east on the north side (which may commemorate Thomas York, M.P. for Richmond, who died in 1716). In one window, the fifth from the east on the north side, only two shields, those of Plantagenet and Warenne, are left in the lower belt of coloured glass, the

[1] See Appendix for a list of the shields.

remainder having disappeared since Torre's time. As might be expected, some of the shields are difficult to identify; such a one is the Cornwall shield,[1] which is in the westernmost light of the second window from the west on the north side. Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, died in 1300 without lawful issue. Shortly afterwards his arms were assumed by Richard, his illegitimate son. The shield may be a tribute to the memory of Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, the only Englishman who occupied this distinguished if somewhat unsubstantial imperial dignity. Another difficulty is presented by the royal shield, England with a border of France, in the third window from the east on the north side. At the time when these windows were inserted, Edmund of Woodstock, a younger son of Edward I, was only thirteen years old. The shield may be that of John of Eltham, who died in 1336, or, if it is a later insertion, that of John Holand, Duke of Exeter, son of the "Fair Maid of Kent," who was executed in 1399. Again, fairly recent restoration, within, that is to say, the last quarter-of-a-century, has not availed to solve certain doubtful points about some of the shields; the fifth shield in the fifth window from the east on the south side has a fess bearing something now indistinct, but in Torre's time three mullets; the fourth in the next window going westwards cannot now be recognised, though previous writers read it as the Meynell arms, probably those of Sir Nicholas Meynell, who was summoned to Parliament from 1313 to 1322; and a shield charged with white lozenges, the second in the second window from the west on the north side, cannot now be attributed to anybody. In a very few of the small quatrefoils over each pair of side lights, small shields have survived, but we may be sure that when the windows were inserted each window possessed two shields in these positions. The examples that have been quoted show the difficulties which are pre-

[1] A reproduction of this shield will be found in Saint and Arnold opposite p. 92.

sented by a detailed study of the heraldry of this group of windows. Fortunately, however, the alterations in the shields which have resulted from the lapse of six centuries of time and from restoration are not sufficient to have destroyed all indications of the national emergency to which the windows may be ascribed.

Of the seventy-six shields which are left, some of course mutilated, out of the full series in fourteen windows of ninety-eight, forty-five can be ascribed to the chief noble families of the time, and, with the twelve Plantagenet shields, are contemporary with the building of the nave. The majority of them clearly belong to nobles who were summoned to Parliament during various parts of the period from the end of the reign of Edward I to the beginning of the reign of Edward III, and who were prominent in the civil troubles and the ill-fated Scottish campaign of Edward II. Assuming the stone shields to have been carved in or about the year 1309, the next national emergency that called for a meeting at York of the king and his chief nobles was the Scottish campaign of 1314. By this time the differences between the king and his nobles had been outwardly settled, Gaveston had been executed, and the nobles had rallied to the side of the king in preparation for the long-delayed invasion of Scotland. York was appointed as the starting-point of the campaign, and once again the medieval city was alive with the heraldic devices of those who had been present in the city five years before for the meeting of Parliament. It would be natural that votive offerings should be made to the building and the decoration of the great cathedral which was rising from the ground. The grouping in each of the clerestory windows that were open to the sky of the arms of the king and four nobles was a natural expression of generosity to the Church and harmony between the king and the nobility. Here were the arms of William, second Lord Ros, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland; there, in

the same window, the fourth from the east on the north side, the arms of Sir Robert Constable, of Flamborough, who had been created a knight by Edward I in 1306, on the eve of the last Scottish campaign. Here were the arms of Sir John Eure, one of the Commissioners who afterwards signed the terms of peace with the Scots ; there, the arms of Sir John Ryther, Governor of Skipton Castle. Here, the arms of Sir Edmund Mauley, destined to be drowned in the flight after Bannockburn ; there, in the same window, the third from the east on the south side, the arms of his two brothers, John and Robert, who accompanied him on the campaign ; there also, in the fifth from the east on the same side, the arms of Sir Robert Clifford, who was also amongst those who never returned from the fight. While it is much to be desired that more instances could be quoted, there is evidence enough that the year 1314 is the later of the limits between which the windows can be dated, and that the gathering of the king and his army at York before the Bannockburn campaign is the occasion to which gifts which helped to pay for this group of fourteen windows can be ascribed.

The subjects of the square panels which form the second belt of coloured glass in the nave clerestory windows are most uncertain. It is not that the glass is either badly preserved or covered with dirt. There is not a hole in a single window, for within the last twenty-five years they have all been restored and preserved. It is quite evident that some of the squares, with their deep blues and reds, are of Early English subject glass ; and most of these panels are so hard to read that, though the groups can be described as Torre described them, it is impossible to identify many of them with any well-known scenes from Biblical history or the lives of the saints. A rearrangement of the panels so that the panel which contains the Plantagenet shield occupies the middle position in each window does not help. The panels that can be

not only made out but also referred to well-known events are as follows:

On the north side, commencing at the lantern tower:

(1) *First*—the Annunciation; the Holy Family; the Resurrection; the Ascension; the Coronation of the Virgin.

(2) *Third*—the Ascension (fourth light).

(3) *Fifth*—the Flight into Egypt; the Annunciation; our Lord carrying His Cross; the Ascension; the Coronation of the Virgin.

(4) *Sixth*—St. Edmund the Martyr (second light) and St. Peter (third light).

(5) *Seventh*—a figure from a twelfth-century Jesse window; a panel of glass of date about 1530; St. Margaret killing the dragon; St. Lucy; (probably) St. Agnes.

On the south side, commencing at the west end:

(1) *Fourth*—our Lord walking on the water (middle light).

(2) *Eighth*—scenes connected with the Resurrection: our Lord and St. Thomas; the journey to Emmaus; our Lord and St. Mary Magdalene; the scene at Emmaus; our Lord amongst "the souls in prison" (1 St. Pet. iii. 19).

Not only is there more early glass on the south side than on the north, but also the fire of 1840, which broke out in the south-west tower, did more damage on that side of the Minster than on the other. The most interesting piece of early glass in the clerestory is the fragment of the twelfth-century Jesse tree in the first light of the second window from the west on the north side. The background is blue, and the tree and most of the figure brown. The drawing of it that Browne gives in his volume of plates (plate No. 123), which is reproduced here facing page 38, is of the panel as he conceived it to have been originally. It is now much less perfect than it was; and it ought to be placed nearer to the ground. It is commonly

supposed to be the earliest piece of glass in this country, and, being of date somewhere about the year 1150, may have been originally in Thomas's nave, which was built between 1070 and 1100. The other early glass in the clerestory can be distinguished from the contemporary glass by its dark, rich blues and reds. Most of it is fragmentary, and even in the case of the groups it is, as has been seen, illegible. The windows which contain most of it are the third from the west on the north side and the fourth from the east on the south side. There is, however, some glass of Peckitt's date or even later, which can easily be distinguished.

The aisle windows were not inserted as a group, but from time to time as individuals were moved to make gifts to them. The heraldry in them is occasional and not systematic; it extends, as has been pointed out above, to the borders, and some of the windows, such as the second from the east in both aisles, contain none at all, while others, including the Jesse Window in the south aisle, the window next to it going westwards, the windows on the west wall, and the third and fifth from the east in the south aisle, either contain none at all, or can show only ecclesiastical shields of St. Peter, or have later insertions of heraldic bearings. The dates of the aisle windows cannot therefore be determined in most cases except within wide limits.

South Aisle

(*Counting from the East*)

First.—At the top of the lights are the shields of a Prince of Wales, probably Edward, afterwards Edward III, a mutilated shield (*vert a cross gules*, originally, according to Glover, charged with five torteaux for Archbishop Greenfield, who died in 1315, though the cross ought to be argent), and the shield of Sir John Giffard, a supporter of Thomas of Lancaster, who was executed after the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322. Torre quotes an inscription, which is now mutilated

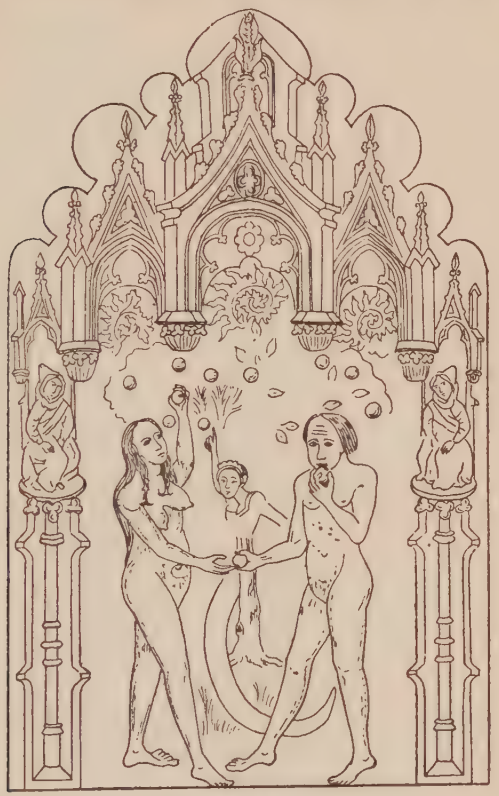
FRAGMENT OF 12TH-CENTURY JESSE, WITH BORDERS.
YORK MINSTER—NAVE.
[*Photographed by William Watson.*

HERALDIC SHIELD.
YORK MINSTER CHOIR CLERESTORY.
[*Photographed by R. C. Green.*

facing p. 38.

beyond recognition, to the effect that this window was inserted in memory of Walter de Gray, Archbishop from 1215 to 1255. It would appear that the window belongs to the early part of the reign of Edward II.

Third.—At the top of the middle light, Plantagenet within a border *argent* for Edmund of Woodstock,



THE FALL.
(East Window, York Minster.)

brother of Edward II; in the middle of the two side lights, the shields of FitzAlan of Bedale and John of Eltham, and England within a border of France, for John of Eltham; and at the foot of the middle light the shield of Sir Robert Holand, who was executed in 1328. The mutilated inscription below refers to the

window as being the gift of Robert de Ripplingham, Chancellor from 1297 to 1332, whose figure in Torre's time was at the foot of the middle light in the midst of a group of his scholars. As with the previous window, this one may be dated during the reign of Edward II, probably towards the end.

Fourth.—In the year 1907 this window was restored; and a more deplorable attempt at restoration can hardly be imagined. Enough new glass was included in the window to fill a whole light; and the old glass which was displaced has found a home in the Zouche chapel.[1] The window is heraldically one of the most interesting in the whole of the Minster, for it contains nine large shields and six smaller ones. The three in the topmost row are of France (ancient), England, and Castile and Dauphiné. Torre read the last-named as Castile and Leon, and there is no reason to suppose that he made a mistake, for he gives the second and third quarters as *argent a lion rampant purpure*; they have for their bearing now a white dolphin. An elaborate attempt was made by Dean Purey-Cust[2] to justify the presence of the dolphin; but it is far more simple and probably correct also to assume the arms of Castile and Leon, out of compliment to Eleanor of Castile, mother of Edward II. The middle row of shields are of Mauley (ancient), a beautifully coloured shield, Bek, and Mauley (new). The new Mauley arms were adopted by a Peter de Mauley early in the thirteenth century after his marriage with the heiress of Robert de Turnham, whose arms henceforth became the arms of the Mauley family. The Bek arms refer to Antony, Bishop of Durham, the friend and protector of the donors of the window. The smaller shields held by the six kneeling figures in the lower row of figures proclaim the holders to be members of the family of de Mauley—Robert Peter IV, Stephen, another Peter (probably Peter V), Edmund, and John, all, except Peter V, sons of Peter III. Edmund and

[1] This glass is described below, on pp. 46–47.
[2] *Heraldry of York Minster.*

John did not return from Bannockburn. Edmund was buried at Bainton, near Driffield, where his effigy can still be seen. Robert was buried in the Minster " at ye bottome of ye south-west pillar yt supports ye lanthorne," according to Glover. The effigy was damaged by the fire of 1829 and was removed to the recess in the north aisle of the choir next to the tomb of Archbishop Savage. Shortly afterwards, Sir Samuel Meyrick acquired the fragments, and had them removed to Goodrich Court, Herefordshire, where they no longer are. Stephen was Rector of Bainton, Prebendary of Bugthorpe in York Minster, and Archdeacon of Cleveland, and died in 1317. The head of the family at this time was Peter V, who succeeded his father in 1310 and died in 1336. In the window Peter V holds the shield of Mauley (ancient). John's shield has on the bend, for difference, three dolphins ; and it is probable that at some restoration of the window, perhaps after the fire of 1840, the dolphins took the place of the lions in the shield of Castile and Leon. From the dates which have been given, it is probable that Peter V and Stephen gave the window in memory of the departed of their family between 1314 and 1317.

The three shields in the lowest row, which are given as they now are by both Glover and Torre (though Glover does not give the three in the topmost row), are of Malbys, Colville, and Vavasour, the reason for the inclusion of which is not apparent.

Sixth.—In the side lights of the lowest row of panels are the shields, all modern, and all inserted after the fire of 1840, of Percy quartering Lucy, and Vavasour. Both would be amongst the most obvious shields to the nineteenth-century persons who were responsible for filling the lights of this window with coloured glass after the original glass had been destroyed in the fire. The original shields in the window included France (ancient), England, England and France quartered (a later insertion), and Ros. The shield at the foot of the middle light (*gules three chevrons argent*) is found

amongst the fine series of shields and quarterings on Archbishop Toby Matthew's tomb in the Lady Chapel. It is not an easy shield to identify.

North Aisle

(*Counting from the East*)

First.—There is not in the whole country a window which is more full of heraldic interest than this, which is usually known as "the Heraldic Window." The subject-matter of the six groups and the three quatrefoils is the life and martyrdom of St. Katherine. At the foot of the middle light is the kneeling figure of the donor, Peter de Dene, whose identity is settled by the remains of a Lombardic inscription at the head of the three lowest panels. Peter was a prominent public figure of his time, being not only Canon and Prebendary of York, a dignity to which he was preferred by his friend and patron, William Greenfield, Archbishop of York from 1304 to 1315, and Canon of St. Paul's, Wells, and Wimborne Minster, but also Commissary-general of Greenfield in 1313, and actively engaged in State affairs till the year 1322, when, as a supporter of the cause of Thomas of Lancaster, he was compelled to retire from York. His appointment as Canon and Prebendary of York supplies the earliest limit for the date of the window—1308 or 1309. The later limit is not easy to fix. Winston and Walford's well-known paper on this window,[1] after an exhaustive study of the heraldry, assigns the window to the year 1306, assuming that the shields refer to the reign of Edward I. Browne's conclusion as to the date was 1346,[2] which is certainly far too late, as the Plantagenet and French shields are separate and not quartered, and as the King and Queen of France have an honoured place in the borders of the middle light. The shields, in order of rows from the top downwards, are of (1) the Empire, England and

[1] See the *Archæological Journal* for 1860.
[2] *Arms in the Glass of York Minster.*

LOWEST PORTION OF HERALDIC WINDOW.

YORK MINSTER NAVE.

facing p. 42.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

France ; (2) Aragon, the King of the Romans, and Castile and Leon ; and (3) Jerusalem and Navarre. The borders of the middle light contain sainted, royal and noble figures, as follows : two patron saints (St. Denys of France and St. George of England) ; two kings (of France and England) ; four earls (Lancaster and Gloucester, and Warenne and Warwick) ; and four barons (Ros and Mowbray, Clifford and Percy). All the male figures are clothed in chain armour and are provided with rowel spurs, and over their armour they wear surcoats which display their heraldic colours and bearings and provide the means of their identification. The side borders display a lion rampant *or* on a red ground, and an eagle displayed *argent* on a green ground. The former, the arms borne by the Earls of Arundel, occupy a prominent position in the chapter-house glass ; the eagles are not easily explained, for Piers Gaveston's shield bore six eagles displayed *or*, and Monthermer had one eagle displayed *vert*. The presence in the same window of the arms of Piers Gaveston and his enemy, Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, can hardly be expected. A knight of Northamptonshire, Sir John de Dene, bore *argent a lion rampant purpure* ; and it is possible that whatever the eagles may mean (perhaps a family connection of the donor), the lions may refer to Peter de Dene. Perhaps, however, a strict heraldic meaning should not be attached to borders of this date.

If 1308 or 1309 is the earliest date to which the window may be ascribed, it is difficult to suggest the latest. The shields may refer to the reign of Edward II as easily as to the reign of Edward I. The rowel spurs suggest at first sight a date not far from 1320, but a copper-plate engraving of a seal of Henry III shows them, though a photogravure reproduction of the same seal does not. It seems that the latest limit for the date which may be suggested is the year 1314, before Gilbert de Clare was killed at Bannockburn. This narrows the date down to the six years between 1308

and 1314, though, on the supposition that rowel spurs were not in use much before 1320, the window may have been ordered early in 1314 and not finished till three or four years later. Here the question must be left.

Third.—The only heraldic devices are borders of England and France (ancient), and a charge on the banner of the knight in the first light, which is so indistinct that it cannot be made out.

Fourth.—The borders of the middle light show alternately the leopards of England on a red ground, and gold crowns on a blue ground for St. Edmund.

Torre noticed at the foot of this window a figure of a man, whom he calls St. Sebastian, being shot by archers. The probability is that this figure was intended to be that of St. Edmund, King and Martyr. The borders of the side lights display the arms of Mowbray and Clare, for the father, Roger, first Lord Mowbray, and mother, Rose, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, of John, Lord Mowbray, Sheriff of Yorkshire and Governor of York Castle in 1313. At the top of the window is the Dalby shield (*gules a chevron ermine between three buckles or*) impaled by that of the Archdeaconry of Richmond (*azure a garb or*). Of the two members of the Dalby family who held the Archdeaconry of Richmond, one at the end of the fourteenth century and the other at the beginning of the sixteenth century, this probably refers to the latter, in whose time the window may have been restored.

Sixth.—In the middle row of panels are three shields —one for Ingram, one for Greville, and the middle one, which is scarcely recognisable, of Ingram impaling Greville. All three are more than three centuries later in date than the window, and refer to Sir William Ingram, who died in 1669, and Mary his wife, a member of the Greville family. Their monument is in the north aisle of the choir, where they were buried.

The heraldry of the nave aisle windows, therefore,

while not so complete as that of the clerestory windows, is interesting not only as suggesting broad limits of dates for their insertion, but also as indicating restorations of certain windows and also probable benefactors to restoration funds.

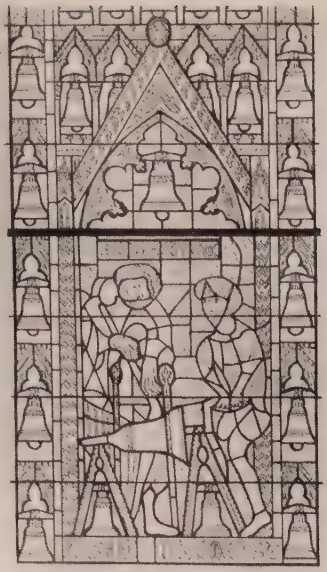
One of the best known of the windows in York Minster is the Bellfounders' Window, the second from the west in the north aisle of the nave. Its distinguishing feature is the large number of representations of bells, mostly coloured yellow, which are scattered about the window. At some previous restoration, the yellow stain in which originally the bells were drawn has in many cases given place to yellow pot-metal, and the window suffers in consequence. Otherwise, the design of the window is in harmony with the general design of the aisle windows. The lower row of subjects represents (1), in the middle light, the donor, Richard Tunnoc, presenting the bell to the local patron saint of the Minster, St. William of York, who is in mitre and pallium, and wears the other Eucharistic vestments ; and (2) and (3), in the side lights, running the molten metal from a furnace into a mould, the first process in the casting of a bell, and shaping the bell, the final process. The dress of the skilled workman and his assistants, and of Tunnoc himself, is the usual contemporary dress of tunic and hose. Tunnoc wears, in addition, a belt to which is attached a pouch ornamented with two bells, and a cape over his tunic. In the upper row, in all three panels, are pictures of the bridge over the River Ouse breaking under the weight of a vast concourse of people who had assembled to greet William Fitzherbert as he rode to his cathedral for his enthronement. In the quatrefoils are figures of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and St. Paul, each between two bells. While the borders of the middle light display monkeys playing several kinds of musical instruments, those of the side lights are ornamented with bells, alternately of silver and gold. Richard Tunnoc, who may have been a bellfounder, lived in Stonegate, York, occupied the

position of one of the three bailiffs for the city, represented the city in Parliament, and died in the year 1330. He was buried in the Minster before the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, the position of which is not known, but at which he had founded a chantry for himself and his family. The window, while probably not unique in its subject-matter, is one of the most interesting and remarkable of the Decorated windows that have survived.

The Zouche Chapel

An inscription at the head of the middle light of the east window of this chapel runs as follows: "Scraps from the Nave, 1907." The fragments were arranged to form eleven panels, which were placed in front of the plain quarries at the foot of each light of each of the five windows in the chapel, and in the heads of the three lights in the east window. Some of this glass, if not nearly all of it, was originally in the Mauley window, the fourth from the east, in the south aisle of the nave.[1] In the middle of the fragments which form the left-hand panel in the east window, for example, will be noticed a complete *bend sable* bearing *three eagles displayed argent*, which Torre saw on one of the shields held by a knight in the left-hand light of that window. The shield in the middle light of the same window, *azure six falcons' heads erased or*, though perhaps the field ought to be *vert*, is not noticed by Torre in the Mauley window. It is found again in the fourth window from the east on the north side of the clerestory of the choir. Its identification presents difficulties. The remainder of the glass consists of quarries, heads, portions of canopies and of small figures, and grisaille. The few quarries are ornamented with four holly-leaves proceeding from a common stalk in the centre of the design, the whole executed in beautiful yellow stain. The grisaille is very much worn; and in the two panels consisting mostly of it

[1] See pp. 40–41.



PANEL OF BELLFOUNDERS' WINDOW.

YORK MINSTER.

NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

[*Photographed by William Watson from a drawing.*

facing p. 46.

HEAD OF OUR LORD.

Y.P.S. MUSEUM, YORK.

(FORMERLY IN ST. CRUX CHURCH),

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

in the window in the recess at the south-west corner of the chapel, the effects of corrosion can be studied at close quarters.

The chapel was founded in the middle of the fourteenth century by Archbishop William la Zouche as his chantry chapel, but he died before it was finished. When the choir was rebuilt on a larger scale in the second half of the same century, the chapel was shortened from north to south. No record of the contents of the original windows has been preserved. The fragments of medieval glass that have found a home there, though a little earlier in date than the chapel itself, add greatly to the old feeling of the building, which is very little affected by the pieces of more modern glass in the east window and in the borders of the other windows and by the plain quarries in which they are set.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE AND THE VESTIBULE

The boast recorded in modern gilt letters on a red ground on the stonework to the north of the doorway of the chapter-house (UT ROSA PHLOS PHLORUM SIC EST DOMUS ISTA DOMORUM—"*As the rose is the flower of flowers, so is this house the flower of houses*") is surely justified, in spite of the conventional ceiling and floor and of the "restored" east window, the chief results of the restoration of 1843 to 1845, and of the loss of the colour which originally adorned the canopies of the stalls. The proportions of the building are perfect; the carving on the stalls is wondrously beautiful; the ironwork on the doors is worth going miles to see. But all these are enhanced by the mellowness of the old glass, which has survived in six windows out of the seven.

The dates of the commencement and the completion of the building of the chapter-house are not known, and can be judged only by appearances and on circumstantial evidence. Both the chapter-house and the vestibule were planned at the same time, and the supposition of some students that the vestibule was an afterthought can hardly be entertained. Convenience would forbid even the contemplation of a chapter-house as a separate building, to be reached in bad weather only after walking some yards in the open air. There is every probability that both were begun even before the nave, but that the whole work was not finished till after the year 1335. They reveal the best Decorated art to be found anywhere, glass as well as stonework being considered. The glazing of each was finished long before the year 1335, and long

before the nave was filled with coloured glass. Regarded as a group of windows, the fifteen in the chapter-house and the vestibule follow in order of time the Five Sisters window.

The chapter-house windows fill nearly all the wall-spaces above the level of the stalls. The enormous thrust which they exert, and their weakness in affording support even to a wooden ceiling, are borne by the gigantic buttresses at the six of the corners and by the north and south walls of the vestibule. The buttresses are prevented from being clumsy by the ingenious device of short flying buttresses, which give strength without sacrificing gracefulness of appearance. Only in this way could compensation be made for the lack of stonework round the windows. As a result, the impression given by the interior is of a beautiful and graceful creation in which the appearance of strength is left to the exterior.

It would be impossible to surpass in beauty of geometrical outline the tracery of the windows. Apart altogether from the glass which they contain, they reveal in their tracery a most ingenious application of the commonplace circle. The chief feature of the tracery over the five lights of each window consists of three large circles, each containing two shields-of-arms which are identified below on page 53, the upper circle surmounting the other two, which are level with each other. Each of these circles contains round its edge a ninefoil, the stone boundaries of which are of slender outline. The remainder of the space between the five main lights and the outer curves of each window is filled with smaller compartments of varying design, each window containing above each of the two outer pairs of lights a cinquefoil. These openings, with the long and narrow lights below, are filled with Decorated glass which is arranged in alternate rows of grisaille and medallions containing groups of figures, the whole being enclosed in borders of varying design, those in the first and fifth lights being alike, those in the second

and fourth being also alike, and those in the middle light being different from either. In this way the maximum amount of light is ensured, as in the nave windows.

The influence of the grisaille of the Five Sisters window is illustrated in these windows, which contain in the lights more grisaille than coloured glass. Yet even in the grisaille there is a development of design. The leaf forms in the Five Sisters window are conventional in arrangement and more or less regular in outline. In the chapter-house windows, the first examples in the York Minster glass are met with of a more natural treatment of leaves and flowers. The same is noticeable in the capitals and the decorated forms of the stonework. In the glass, the leaves and the fruit of common trees are freely used, especially of the oak, the maple, the thorn, the ivy, the hop, and even the strawberry. This is seen also in those borders which do not contain on coloured backgrounds crowns and castles. The panels of grisaille themselves show the stems proceeding from the mouths of imaginary beasts with grotesque open mouths, with forepaws extended, and with long scaly fish-like bodies. In addition, the grisaille is relieved with coloured glass in geometrical designs in the middle of the panels, and, sometimes, with geometrical outlines in coloured glass which are connected with the outlines of the medallions above and below. A study of the lowest grisaille panels from the gallery that runs round the chapter-house above the level of the stalls shows the difference in the drawing of the leaf-patterns on the old windows and on the modern east window. In the work of less than a century ago, the freedom in the design of the medieval glass-painter has given place to a regularity of outline that is like one of the freehand-drawing copies of a generation ago. The pattern of each panel of grisaille is completed by geometrical outlines formed by the lead which holds the small pieces of glass in their places. In the grisaille of the nave, the lead round

each piece of glass forms a diamond-shaped pattern. In no way are the panels of the chapter-house grisaille monotonous in appearance, so ingenious is the intersection of coloured insertions and lead lines, and so varied are the patterns in different lights of the same windows and in different windows. The general result is most pleasing.

In each window, the subjects are arranged in four rows in medallions of various geometrical and symmetrical shapes, so that each window contains twenty medallions. Nothing but the lives of our Lord and certain saints finds a place in the scheme. The following is the arrangement of the subject-matter in the lights: north-west window, St. Katharine; north, St. Thomas of Canterbury; north-east and east, our Lord; south-east, St. Peter; south, St. Paul; south-west, five saints, a different saint in each light.

The north-west window describes twenty scenes from the life of St. Katherine, who was a popular saint in York. Her life is illustrated in the heraldic window in the nave, and she is represented in several other windows in the Minster, in the nave, the vestibule, and the eastern arm. A hospital dedicated to her was situated not far outside Micklegate Bar.

The north window contains five insertions at the foot, one in each light, which take the place of the panels of grisaille. They are all of Decorated glass, and represent single figures, under canopies, of St. Lawrence, St. Stephen, St. John, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, all except St. John, who is being tortured in a vessel of boiling oil, with their emblems. The place from which these five panels came, or the reason for their being placed here, is not known. The twenty subject panels above illustrate scenes from the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a chantry chapel dedicated to whom was in another part of the Minster, though its site has not been determined; and there are also panels representing incidents in his life in the window immediately eastwards of the St. Cuthbert window in

the south aisle of the choir. It is strange to find in the cathedral church of the Archbishops of York during the Middle Ages, when the rivalry between Canterbury and York was at its height, so many reminders of the sainted Thomas Becket, who was a far better known saint than St. William of York. The parish church of Osbaldwick, on the outskirts of York, is dedicated to him. In the appendix is a reading of the window, as far as the subjects can be made out. The stories which are referred to are the well-known ones (1) of the rescue from the grave of William of Gloucester, the workman who had been buried under a fall of earth at Churchdown, near Gloucester, a church belonging to the Archbishop of York, and was considered to be dead, and (2) of the knights crossing the English Channel to carry out the wishes of Henry II by murdering Becket. It is possible that this window contains insertions of panels from other churches. There was in York until about the middle of the nineteenth century a hospital dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Its dedication was transferred to the Victoria Bar Convent, which is still in existence.

The three windows on the south side of the chapter-house, being protected by the adjacent buildings, are in a better state of preservation than those on the north side. Consequently, their subjects can be made out better.

The identity of the saint who is commemorated in the first light of the south-west window cannot be stated definitely. For reasons that are stated below, connected with the heraldry in the tracery lights, this saint may be St. Denys, the patron saint of France. This, however, is hardly more than conjecture.

The heraldry in the tracery lights of the windows of the chapter-house is worthy of detailed examination. Originally, there were eight shields in each window—two in each of the three large circles, and one in each of the two cinquefoils over the pairs of side lights. In the north-west window, the large circles lost their original shields forty years before Torre's time. Roger

Dodsworth gives the shields as they were before the civil troubles of the seventeenth century. Torre says that the " new white glass " which he saw in the places previously occupied by them was inserted in the year 1658. They were: England (twice over); Castile and Leon (for Eleanor of Castile, first queen of Edward I); Clifford; Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, nephew of Henry III, who died in 1300; Vere, Earl of Oxford; Fitzalan of Bedale; and Greystoke. The latter pair are still in the small cinquefoils.

The following is a list of the shields as they can still be seen in the remainder of the windows. Those numbered 1 and 2 are in the topmost circle of the tracery, 3 and 4 in the left-hand lower circle, 5 and 6 in the right-hand lower circle, 7 in the left-hand cinquefoil, and 8 in the right-hand cinquefoil.

North Window.—(1) England; (2) Clare; (3) Clifford; (4) Clare; (5) England; (6) Warenne; (7) Warenne; (8) jumbled; (9) in the second light, the Prior of Ely (*gules three keys argent*).

North-east Window.—(1) England; (2) England charged with a label of five points *azure* charged with *fleurs-de-lis or*; (3) England; (4) Warenne; (5) England; (6) Ros; (7) Clare; (8) Neville.

East Window.—(1) England; (2) probably the shield of the Earl Marshal; (3) England; (4) Beauchamp; (5) England with a label of five points *argent* (for Lancaster); (6) Bulmer.

South-east Window.—(1) England; (2) England charged with a label of five points *azure* charged with *fleurs-de-lis or*; (3) England; (4) Montfort; (5) England; (6) England within a bordure *azure* charged with *fleurs-de-lis or*; (7) and (8) Ros.

South Window.—(1) England; (2) Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; (3) England; (4) Baliol; (5) England; (6) Greystoke; (7) Percy (?); (8) Vescy.

South-west Window.—(1) Old France; (2) Tateshale; (3) France; (4) Fitzalan of Bedale; (5) Old France; (6) Old Percy; (7) nothing; (8) Blanchminster.

The question of the ownership of the shields is not an easy one to solve. The number of national and other royal shields must be interpreted as relating to a royal visit to York, almost certainly of Edward I, who was in York in 1280, 1284, 1291, and on several occasions in connection with his campaign against the Scots from the year 1296 onwards. On Whitsunday, 1296, Parliament met in the chapter-house and voted supplies for the war. There is therefore evidence for attributing the leopards of England to Edward I. The presence of the arms of Old France three times in the south-west window in the most prominent positions, and of the arms of Castile and Leon, which are no longer to be seen, in the north-west window, only once, points to a memorial of the King's first wife, Eleanor of Castile, but to the date on the windows being after his marriage in September 1299 with Margaret of France. The limits of the dates of the windows must therefore be placed between 1300 and 1307. In the spring of 1300 the King besieged Caerlaverock Castle. In 1307 he set out for his last campaign against the Scots, but died on July 6 of that year at Burgh-on-Sands, before he could enter Scotland. The question is, which of these military enterprises was the cause of the insertion of the shields in the windows of the chapter-house? The problem is complicated by the fact that both in 1300 and in 1307 representatives of the same families accompanied him. Between the two dates some of the bearers of these names and titles were succeeded by their heirs. Several, however, such as Lancaster, Ros, and Lacy, were held throughout by the same persons, who were constantly to be found under the King's banner. The problem is thus a difficult one, though it is not of much practical importance, for the windows belong in any case to the last years of the reign of Edward I.

The Vestibule

Like everything else in York Minster, the vestibule which connects the north transept with the chapter-

house is built on a large scale, so large that it contains eight windows of varying sizes from two lights to five lights. For the difference in the sizes of the windows the structural necessities of the passage are responsible. All the windows in the arm that runs from east to west, four in number (counting the northernmost window in the west wall), are of five lights except the one in the south wall, which, owing to the thickness of the east wall, has a blind light. The four windows in the arm that runs from north to south would be of four lights each but for the facts that the west and east walls are joined to buttresses of the north transept, which it was not possible to reduce in size, and that the east wall is joined to the south wall, and so the window on the east wall nearest the corner is of three lights only, though the tracery, like the tracery of the window at right angles to it, provides for the light which is lost, and so both the lights nearest the corner are "blind." There are therefore in the vestibule one window of two lights, with curious and not very artistic tracery, three of three lights, one of four lights, and three of five lights. The general design of these eight windows is the same as in the chapter-house and the nave, namely, a row of grisaille and a row of coloured glass, and the same repeated, the whole within borders. The subjects in the coloured glass are not, however, as in the chapter-house, groups inside medallions, but, as in the nave, figures under gables which are sometimes surmounted by buttressed pinnacles. At previous restorations much of the yellow stain has been lost, and is represented by yellow pot-metal, which detracts greatly from the appearance of, in particular, the northernmost window on the west wall. The tracery lights are filled, in some of the windows, with white flowered glass on a greyish background, and, in some others, with a mosaic of coloured glass some of which is undoubtedly of early date, perhaps of the twelfth century. The borders consist of various forms—the leaves of the oak, the maple, the ivy, and the thorn, heraldic devices such

as the *fleur-de-lis* on a blue ground (for Queen Margaret), sometimes alternating with a white castle (for Queen Eleanor), and birds such as the crane and the falcon. Heraldic shields are not numerous. Only about a dozen are left, and, though it has been conjectured that there were originally more of them, Torre mentions only those which have survived to the present day.

Windows in the West Wall

The lights of the first window from the south in the west wall are long and narrow, and contain only four figures and two shields. There are now no scrolls by which the figures, four royal saints, can be identified, but previous writers on the glass had the opportunity of recording the names on three out of four of the scrolls —in the first light St. Olave, to whom a parish church in York is dedicated, and King Edward the Confessor. The shield below is that of Brian Fitzalan of Bedale, who was in favour with Edward I. Only the upper figure in the second light has been identified, as King Oswald. The lower figure is of a crowned king. Below is the shield of John, Lord Latimer. Three of the kings hold falcons.

The second window from the south is of four lights, and again royal personages are represented—in the upper row, a king, a queen, a king, a queen, and in the lower row a queen, a king, a queen, a king. The identity of the four can hardly be conjectured, as neither Torre nor any other writer has left behind records even of the existence of scrolls or other means of identification. The presence of the *fleur-de-lis* in the borders of the two lights may be accounted for by the French marriage of either Edward I or Edward II. It is useless to try to name the figures from the flowers or the animals which the artist has given to them, for the sceptre of one king ends in a *fleur-de-lis*, while that of his consort ends in a sprig of maple, one king holds a spray of harebells, and his consort a white dove. It

is possible that each of the eight had a favourite flower or animal, but further conjecture is valueless. The shield in the tracery is of Luttrell.

The third window from the south is of five lights, each of which contains the figures of two female saints. None of them can now be identified except the Virgin and Child in the upper row in the middle light and St. Katherine in the lower row of the second light. Torre made the figures in the upper row "Sca Maria," "Sca Elizabetha," "Sca Maria," and two "holy women," and, in the lower row, a queen, St. Katherine, "Sca Maria," "Sca Maria," and St. Katherine. Some at least of these are incorrect. Another writer[1] reads the figures as follows: upper row, a female saint, St. Elisabeth, the Virgin and Child, St. Mary of Salome, and another female saint; lower row, a sainted queen, St. Katherine, St. Mary of Egypt, and two more female saints. It is again unsatisfactory to have to leave so much unsettled.

The shields at the foot of the lights are of Ros, Clare (in the tracery also), England, Warenne, and Old Percy.

The borders of this window are very beautiful. In the middle light they consist of a silver *fleur-de-lis* on a red ground and a gold and green falcon. In the other four lights a castle alternates with golden *fleurs-de-lis*. The window therefore falls within the reign of Edward I. It cannot be dated any more exactly than the chapter-house windows, and it may be inferred that it was inserted at the same time, the heraldry being similar.

Windows in the North Wall

The westernmost window, again of five lights, has as its central subjects the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (middle light, upper row), who has an angel on each side holding a censer, and, below her, the Crucifixion, under the angels being figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. The central

[1] Mr. George Benson.

groups show therefore the sorrow and the triumph of the Virgin. The outer lights are filled with figures of an unknown saint and St. Peter in the first light, and an unknown king and St. Paul in the fifth light. The tabernacle which St. Peter holds is open, and shows the Chalice and the Host; originally it was a beautiful representation of the doctrine of the Real Presence, and John Browne made a coloured sketch of it which was reproduced as the frontispiece of his work, published by Dean Purey-Cust in 1916, long after his death, *Arms in the Glass of York Minster*. In the lowest panels of grisaille are small insets of a bishop's head (in the first and fifth lights), a king's head (in the second and fourth), and another head (in the middle light). The borders of the middle light are decorated with leaves of the oak and with falcons and cranes; those of the second and fourth with alternate groups of golden *fleurs-de-lis* on a red ground, white covered cups on blue, and castles on red. Again the queens of Edward I are commemorated, and the royal shield in the tracery is undoubtedly his.

The other window in the north wall is a little shorter than the others, owing to the doorway, which outside has a high porch. There are therefore no panels of grisaille at the foot of the window. The subject is our Lord and the Virgin and Child, who occupy the middle light, with eight saints as their bodyguard. The saints in Torre's time were St. John and another in the first light, St. Peter and St. Thomas in the second, St. Paul and St. Andrew in the fourth, and St. Matthew and another (quite plainly, St. James) in the fifth. The figures of St. Paul, St. Matthew, St. Thomas, and St. Andrew are not now recognisable as of these apostles. There are no shields in the window, and the borders, originally of foliage forms, are mutilated.

Window in the South Wall

This is a five-light window, with the right-hand light blind, though the tracery is complete. There is no

coloured glass in the tracery, and no heraldry in the window. The top row of figures represents bishops or archbishops, the one in the third light said to be the figure of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1234 to 1245. The figures in the lower row are of St. Stephen, another deacon, said by Torre to have been St. Lawrence, holding his grille, St. Robert, and St. Wenceslaus. Mr. Benson gives readings of four of the scrolls, which enabled him to come to a conclusion as to the identity of four of the figures. Torre is vague in his conclusions. The borders show foliage and birds, and are of no assistance in arriving at a date for the window.

Windows in the East Wall

The northernmost window is a most interesting one, representing as it does two Resurrection scenes and the effect of the Resurrection in the triumph of the Christian Church and the overthrow of Judaism. Our Lord appears in each row of subjects in the third light (counting the blind light as the first). Torre's reading of His figures as being those of a saint " with arms and legs bare " and a " holy man " is inadequate. In the second light are the figures of St. Thomas and St. Mary Magdalene. Torre's " king holding a church and a banner " and " a saint holding a banner," in the fourth light, become on closer view a crowned lady who holds a church and a lady whose crown is falling to the ground. The symbolism is clear from the subject-matter of the four other figures in the window. The borders are of leaves of ivy. There are no shields in the window.

The remaining window is one of three lights, and, like the last two which have been described, it has no coloured glass in the tracery lights. Here again Torre's description is of little use, for he interprets the figures in each row as being of a lady and two saints. The scrolls have survived, and there is little doubt that the

figures are intended to be of Isaiah, David, and Moses (in the upper row), and Abraham, Jeremiah, and Daniel (in the lower row). The only other medieval window in York Minster which contains six Old Testament figures is the first from the west in the south aisle of the choir. The present group is of six characters, each of whom in his own way foretold the coming of our Lord.

The arrangement of the panels in the lights of this window is interesting. Each design, reading from the top downwards, consists of a castle on a panel of grisaille, a figure under a canopy, a *fleur-de-lis* on a panel of grisaille, and a coat-of-arms. The three coats are of Neville, Percy, and Dreux (John, Earl of Richmond), the three greatest lords in the north at the time. The castles and the *fleurs-de-lis* can be referred to Edward I's two queens; the window must have been inserted in his reign.

The question of the date of the vestibule windows can now be approached. There were at least two glass-painters at work on them, as a comparison between the middle and the northernmost window on the west wall will at once show. Yet, even if the presence of the four royal groups in this window suggests a date in the reign of Edward II, and if it be granted that there are allusions to the two marriages of Edward I only in three of the eight windows, the general agreement in the plan on which the whole group was glazed suggests very close limits to the dates between which the work was carried out, and the conclusion is that a date not far from the year 1307 would not be much wrong. If the conclusions that have been suggested for the dates of the insertion of the Decorated glass in the nave, the chapter-house, and the vestibule are correct, the windows were glazed in the following order: (1) the chapter-house, 1300 or 1307; (2) the vestibule in 1307; (3) the nave clerestory in 1314; and (4) the nave aisles and the west end at various dates between 1310 and 1338. Unless both the chapter-

house and the vestibule can be referred to the same effort, the chapter-house glass is the earliest of the Decorated glass, as indeed it has the appearance of being, and that in the vestibule comes next in order of date.

CHAPTER V

THE LADY CHAPEL AND THE CHOIR

Those good judges of medieval glass who are moved by the stately splendour of the Five Sisters window and who love the Decorated glass of the nave, the chapter-house, and the vestibule for its blend of quiet colours, are the first to admit that the glass of the eastern arm has powers to entrance and even at times to thrill that the earlier glass of the Minster does not possess.

From grisaille to Perpendicular, in which hardly any grisaille is found, is a far cry. The gulf between them is bridged by Decorated glass. There were two almost abrupt transitions in the process. Step by step the glass-painter kept pace with the architect. So it is that the Five Sisters window would be out of place in the nave, and the West window equally in the wrong place in the transepts, and that both are quite foreign to the style of glazing demanded by the choir, which is matched only by the three "walls of glass" known as the East window, the St. William window, and the St. Cuthbert window. It is a proud thing for a church to have large windows filled with medieval glass of any date. It is the proudest thing of all when a church built in all three styles of Gothic architecture possesses the finest examples of the glazing of each of the three periods. And, of the three groups of examples, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, the greatest of these is Perpendicular.

The eastern arm is beautified by thirty-two windows that contain Perpendicular glass of the half-century from 1380 to 1430. In addition, the eight long windows

in the lantern tower exhibit in later glass (1471) a double row of cross-keys, the work of Matthew Petty. So that the eastern arm and the lantern tower share almost as many Perpendicular windows as there are Decorated windows in the nave, the vestibule, and the chapter-house—an amount that cannot fall far short, if at all, of the Decorated glass. Not every window is filled. The tracery of some of the aisle windows used to hold medieval coloured glass, notably (1) the first three from the west and the first four from the east in the north aisle, (2) the second, third, and fourth from the east and the first three from the west in the south aisle, (3) the main lights of the first from the east in both the aisles, (4) the first and second from the east in the clerestory of the Lady Chapel on the north side, and (5) the first from the east in the clerestory of the Lady Chapel on the south side. Torre gives a list of the contents of all these windows; and it is a fair inference that the fire of 1829 is responsible for the loss of most of it.

The damage to the Minster was particularly heavy in the south-east corner, as the inscription on the restored memorial of Archbishop Sharp records, and the mutilated tabernacles and pinnacles on the canopy above the tomb of Archbishop Bowet bear silent witness. The empty spaces in the first window from the east in the north aisle were partially filled with six panels of coloured glass that were removed from the St. Cuthbert Window when this was restored in 1888, because they were plainly insertions in it, made doubtless after the Puritan troubles of the seventeenth century. The lowest panel in each light is of sixteenth-century glass, and these panels are referred to below.[1] The lower figure in the middle light of the east window of the same aisle, and the upper figure in the middle light of the east window of the south aisle, are plainly of Early Perpendicular glass from one or more of the three missing coloured windows in the clerestory of the Lady

[1] See pp. 71–72.

Chapel. Three other figures from the second window from the east on the north side of the clerestory of this chapel are without doubt, from Torre's description of them, now in the second window from the west in the south aisle of the nave.[1] The south window in the All Saints' Chapel is a later insertion, and is the only example in York Minster of enamel glass of French manufacture. Six panels are missing from the foot of the next window going westwards, doubtless to make a clear background for the canopy and the urns of the Wentworth memorial beneath. In the next window, Peckitt's tracery glass of the year 1782 is only too obvious. The tracery glass of the next is entirely modern, and the lights below are filled with medieval squares some of which have displaced the original canopies, and some of which are insertions. The Jesse window over the door of the Zouche Chapel is one of the mysteries of York Minster glass. The space was filled with other medieval glass in Torre's time, and with white glass in 1730, only a generation later. The tale of destruction and of change is a sad one, as it involved the loss of several hundred square feet of medieval glass. Yet, so large and so numerous are the old windows which are left, and so enormous is the eastern arm, the full size of which cannot be appreciated because the choir is enclosed with screens on all four sides, that the omissions are hardly noticeable at a first glance. Hardly more than the widow's mite has been taken from the rich man's abundance.

The glass of the eastern arm and of the lantern tower falls within the period covered by the first century or so of the Fabric Rolls, a goodly number of which have survived from just after the year 1350. Extracts from them were printed as long ago as the year 1858,[2] and the following references to the glass are based on them. They are full of interest for the information

[1] See pp. 28–29 and 41–42.

[2] Surtees Society, vol. xxxv, edited by J. Raine (afterwards Canon, Librarian, and Chancellor of York).

which they contain about the origin of the glass, the names of glass-painters, and the rates of their pay. Unfortunately, the rolls do not mention any particular windows, but between the years 1400 and 1433 they record the purchase of a good deal of new glass, though not as much as might have been expected. This is doubtless because agreements for the supply of new windows were made between the donors and the contractors, and so are not found in the Fabric Rolls.

DAVID AND GOLIATH.

There are, however, many rolls missing. Between 1443 and 1470 a smaller quantity of new glass was bought, but apparently repairs were necessary, probably to the windows of the nave and the chapter-house. A long entry of the years 1470–71 refers to the glazing of the lantern tower. The following translations of extracts from the rolls will be found worthy of notice :

1371. For 100 . . . of glass bought from Edmund Pictor. . 26*s.* 8*d.*
(This refers to the purchase of one hundred square feet of white glass, doubtless for a window in the new Lady Chapel.)

1399. For the repair of the windows of the chapter-house and the nave by John Burgh, glazier, and his assistant, for one month , 22*s.* 6*d.*

1400. For the repair of the windows, by John Burgh, glazier, for a year . . . . . 27*s.* 5*d.*

1404. For the repair of the windows by John Burgh, glazier, and his assistants, for a year . . . . . 87*s.* 9*d.*

1415. For making 300 . . . of iron into bars for the windows . 12*s.*
For tin bought from William Wyllyngham for solder . 16*s.* 6*d.*
(The purchase of iron for saddle-bars and of tin for solder, probably for the windows of the western choir.)

1418–19. For three semes and three pieces of white glass bought from John Glasman, of Rugeley, at 20*s.* per seme . . . 62*s.* 6*d.*
(A "seme" of glass weighs 120 lb.; a "pais" was one-twenty-fourth of a seme, and the word is probably used here to mean a large piece of glass.)
To John Burgh, glazier, for 44 weeks . . . . 110*s.*

1419. Paid to John Coverham for 10 weeks and 3 days . . 16*s.* 3*d.*

1422. To John Chamber, glazier, of York, for the repair of the glass windows . . . . . 4*s.*

1432. For 13 lb. of tin bought for soldering necessary for the strengthening of the glass windows . . . . . 3*s.*

1446–7. In payments to Matthew Pety, glazier, for repairing defects in the glass windows . . . . . 8*s.* 6*d.*

1450. To Nicholas Lowthe for 18 lb. of tin and for 5 lb. of solder . 13*d.*

1456. In payments to Matthew Pety, glazier, for repairing several defects in several windows, for 14 weeks and 5½ days . . 44*s.* 9*d.*

1457. To Peter Faudkent, Dutchman, for glass of several colours bought this year from him at Hull, with carriage . . . . . ?
To Matthew Pety for glazing the new chapel at Topcliffe within the churchyard . . . . . 56*s.* 8*d.*

1469. For one wysp of ruby glass . . . . . 16*d.*

1470–1. To Thomas Nellson, of York, for 60 wysps of glass, with carriage 50*s.* 4*d.*
To Robert Glasman for one and a half semes of English glass 39*s.* 6*d.*
To John Polyngton, of York, for one waive and a half and for 93 wysps of glass . . . . . 76*s.*
In payments to Matthew Pety, glazier, for working on the large windows[1] for 22½ weeks . . . . . 75*s.*
In payments to Thomas Coverham, glazier, for working at the same task for 30 weeks and one day . . . £4 10*s.* 9*d.*
In payments to Thomas Clerk for working on the same task for 10 weeks and 2½ days . . . . . 31*s.* 3*d.*
To Thomas Sherwynd for the same for 24 weeks and 2 days 73*s.*
To William Franklan for the same for 24 weeks and half a day 72*s.* 2*d.*
In payment of John Pety for working at the same task for one week and one day . . . . . 3*s.* 6*d.*
To Robert Hudson for 15 weeks and one day . . 45*s.* 6*d.*
To William Cartmell for 4½ days . . . . 2*s.* 3*d.*
To the said Matthew Pety for making 24 panes of glass, besides 20*s.* paid to the same by the Dean for making 20 other panes 24*s.*

[1] In the lantern tower.

To William Teele, of York, for colouring the same panes . 12*d.*
To Matthew Pety for the same . . . . . 12*d.*
Total £29 15*s.* 2*d.* (with other entries not quoted).

There are similar entries for the year 1472.

1498–9. For payment to John Pety, glazier, for work between the Feast of the Purification and the Feast of All Saints . 43*s.* 6*d.*
1509–10. To Robert Pety, for 32 days . . . . . 16*s.*
To William Hutchonson, for 44 days . . . . . 22*s.*
To Richard Awger, for 47 days . . . . . 23*s.*
For 10 lb. of solder . . . . . 3*s.* 4*d.*
1529–30. To Richard Tailyor, for 2 cists (chests?) of Rhenish glass 33*s.* 4*d.*
1535–6. To William Matthewson, of Hull, for 22 wysps of coloured Burgundian glass . . . . . 31*s.* 6*d.*
To the same for 8 wysps of white Burgundian glass . . 12*s.*
1537–8. On 12 August, for one candle of Norman glass . . 16*s.*
1543–4. May 31, for three wysps of glass . . . . 2*s.* 6*d.*

In the extracts that have been given the sources of the York glass were Holland, the Rhine, and Burgundy—in other words, the Low Countries. From these places the coloured glass came to York by way of the North Sea, the Humber, and the Ouse, and at York it was cut up and painted with the only two colours which it was possible to apply to the surface of glass in the Middle Ages, brown and yellow, and made into windows. A flourishing branch of the window-making and glass-painting industry existed in York, which reached the period of its greatest prosperity during the fifteenth century. Outside St. Helen's Church, York, there is a board which contains the names and the dates of a number of glass-painters who lived in Stonegate, which connects Petergate with St. Helen's Square. It was drawn up, designed, and presented to the church by Mr. J. A. Knowles, the York glass-painter, and its contents are as follows:

CHURCH OF ST. HELEN

This was the Parish Church of the Glass-painters of York, who lived and worked in the adjoining street of Stonegate. The arms of their craft are in the tracery of the east window of the north aisle. The following were buried within this Church:

1414. Robert Wakefield.
1422. Thomas Benefield.

1433. Thomas Rose or Ross.
1437. John Chamber the elder.
1451. John Witton.
1451. John Chamber the younger, and son of the above John Chamber.
1451. Richard Chamber.
1458. Thomas Shirley.
1478. Matthew Petty.
1480. William Inglish.
1481. Thomas Shirwyn.
1503. Robert Preston.

1922.

In Early Perpendicular glass the eastern arm of York Minster was once far richer than it is now. Of the windows in the aisles, only three in the north aisle, the second, third, and fourth from the east, and in the south aisle the east window and the second and third from the east, now possess any glass of this period—six windows out of a former total of eight—and the glass in five of these six sadly mutilated. In the clerestory, only five windows out of eight still contain any at all, and thirteen figures out of the original thirty-eight are missing. At least one-third of the former amount has disappeared. The Early Perpendicular glass was all inserted between about 1375 and 1390, the glazing of the east window and of the east window of the north aisle being left until some years later.

The best preserved is the third window from the east in the south aisle. It is glazed with representations of three large figures of St. James (from the shells on his robe), King Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Evangelist. Only the first named is recognisable in Torre, who describes the figure as of "a large image of a martial man with sword downwards." The sword is plainly a pilgrim's staff. The middle figure he made into a "king and others." The "others" have disappeared, though Torre places King Edward the Confessor in the first light of the next window going westwards. The large figure of St. John he does not notice at all. It is difficult to believe that, even though the two adjacent windows have been mutilated, the large

figures in this have been made up with fragments or whole figures from elsewhere, for the window has every appearance, in the main lights, of being in its original position. The subject groups underneath the large figures, of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents, our Lord in the Temple with the doctors, and the Baptism of our Lord in Jordan, are very well preserved; and such details as a soldier in plate armour impaling a child on his sword, the regular arrangement of the groups of people round the boy Jesus, the water in which our Lord stands, the Dove over His head, and the vessel from which St. John the Baptist pours the water on His head, together with the shape of the blue robe of our Lord, which is held by another person, are faithfully represented even now. The shields at the foot of the first and third lights are mutilated. Torre made nothing of the first, and for the other he has *argent a cross inter four others formy sable.*

In the middle light, between the shields, are figures of a woman and a child, said to be St. Elisabeth and St. John the Baptist. The canopies are typical of Early Perpendicular design, in colour (a greenish-white), shape (octagonal and buttressed), and design (containing small niches). The tracery glass is now filled with Peckitt's brilliantly coloured glass in conventional designs, which bears his date, 1782. Originally, in the two larger divisions of the tracery, were figures of (1) a king holding a naked sword, with two "monks" and a bishop, (2) two "monks," a king, and a church, and (3) a bishop and two "monks." Torre makes nearly all clergy into monks. In the six tracery compartments immediately above the main lights were various representations, which, from Torre's description, seemed to refer to the trial and Passion of our Lord. The date of the window is uncertain, and can be judged only from the style in which it is glazed. It cannot be far from the years 1375 to 1380. Apart from Peckitt's tracery glass, which is out of place, this window is remarkably well preserved.

The other Early Perpendicular glass in the aisles of the Lady Chapel is contained in the second, third, and fourth from the east in the north aisle, and—though this is a little uncertain, as the glass has the appearance of being later in date—in the east window of the All Saints' Chapel. Between the octagonal and buttressed canopy of this period and the pinnacled silver canopy of the Middle Perpendicular period there is no sharp dividing-line in point of time. Still, the Early Perpendicular glass in the Lady Chapel, in both the aisles of the clerestory, which once possessed eight and still proudly shows five, windows of this design, may all be ascribed to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The four easternmost bays of the eastern arm were completed and roofed by 1373, and a start was made with the building of the five remaining bays and the demolition of Roger's twelfth-century choir by about the year 1380. The east window was glazed between 1405 and 1408, and it is later in style and colouring than any of the Early Perpendicular windows that have been mentioned. Nearly all the glass in the western choir, in both clerestory and aisle, including the huge St. William and St. Cuthbert windows, belongs to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and most of it to the archiepiscopate of Henry Bowet (1407–23). The four eastern bays would be almost filled with coloured glass before the glazing of the five remaining bays was commenced. Indeed, when the progress of the century from 1361, when the foundation-stone was laid of the east end, to 1472, when the whole building as we see it now was re-dedicated, is set out, we have a record of ceaseless activity as follows:

1361–1400. Building and glazing of the four eastern bays.

1380–1425. Building and glazing of the five western bays, with the carving of the stalls, and the building of the lantern tower.

1433–72. Building of the two western towers.
1471. Glazing of the lantern tower.

The fire of 1829 played sad havoc with the three Early Perpendicular windows in the north aisle, and with a fourth, the north window of the St. Stephen's Chapel, which disappeared entirely. Except for large figures of kings in the middle light of the second and third windows from the east, one said to represent Edward III and the other, on slender authority, to represent Edward the Confessor, nothing can be made out of the fragments of the glass except the outlines of heads and shoulders, which were rearranged in their present form out of still more confused fragments in the year 1915. Mutilated, however, as the designs are, the windows are still beautiful with a beauty which no white glass can have. There is now no coloured glass in the tracery of these three windows, though there was in Torre's time.

From Torre's account it is impossible to guess the general subject-matter of the two easternmost windows. In the one in the north aisle, the only recognisable figure was of *Scus Edwardus Rex*, an inscription which Torre read so often for something else that it cannot be relied on. In this window there are now six panels of coloured glass that were removed from the St. Cuthbert window when this window was restored, as having no connexion with the life of St. Cuthbert. From their size it is difficult to say whether they were ever properly part of the Minster glass. The two lowest panels are a continuation of a series of four in St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church. One shows a lady, dressed in the style of the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with small hat plumed at the sides over the ears, long full skirt, square collar, and wide sleeves, bringing a child to a preceptor. The other shows the same lady, evidently just before the birth of a child, being assisted in landing from a ship. The fragments of the inscriptions in English below and at

the side make no sense at all and throw no light on the subject-matter of the panels, which will be referred to in the account of the glass of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church.[1] The other four panels show: (1) (top left) a cleric, in blue robe with red cape, praying before an open book, the inscription reading: *Sce Willme ora pro salute anime Roberti* (perhaps for Robert Wolveden, Treasurer from 1426 to 1432); (2) (below) a group out of which nothing can be made; (3) (top right) St. Katherine with the wheel, and another figure, with the inscription, probably insertions, . . . *ria in excelsis* and *locutus est*; and (4) (bottom left) a barber's shop, showing two men cutting the hair of another, though the whole panel is much mutilated.

The contents of the second window from the east have some light thrown on them by Torre, who saw in the three larger compartments of the tracery "broken imagery," and in the six smaller compartments angels. In the left-hand light he made out "a large image of a holy man," and, below, the Resurrection. King Edward III's figure occupied the middle light, surrounded by garters, each with the motto of the Order of the Garter. In the right-hand light was the figure of the prophet Samuel. Somewhere in the window were "divers monks and nuns at their devotions." Torre made most medieval clerics into monks and many ladies into nuns. He also mentions a shield above the head of St. Mary Magdalene in the Resurrection scene —*argent a fess inter three bugle horns stringed sable.* As indicating how little some observers of stained-glass windows can be relied on, Gent made out the large figure in the middle light to be Pope Gregory (the Great), and says that it was removed from over the "north door." It is impossible to say which "north door" he means.

The borders of this window have the letters R. H. and I. on coloured backgrounds, and golden and silver

[1] See below, pp. 147–148. There are mutilated fragments of two panels of glass of the same style in the nave clerestory.

crowns, but it is not known to whom the letters apply.

In the two lower of the three large compartments of the tracery of the next window, Torre saw a bishop, a cross-bearer, a king, and a "monk" elevating the Host, while another "monk" and a cross-bearer stand by; in the six smaller compartments below, he records the shield of Percy (modern), St. George and the dragon, St. Lawrence holding a grille, St. Katherine holding a wheel, "a male saint holding a golden comb" (probably St. Blaise), and a shield (*sable a chevron between three estoiles argent*).

In the first light there was a large figure of a man, about whom is a scroll "with golden letters"; below, our Lord and an old man who holds "a fair child" and is crowned. In the middle light Torre made out a king; below, a bishop and a nobleman in a palace; in the third light, our Lord holding a little cross, there being scrolls at His feet "with golden letters," below, a bishop and "a holy man."

It seems a hopeless task to weave unity out of these descriptions.

The middle borders display golden crowns on a blue background, and the borders of the side lights show the letters A and T.

In the tracery of the next window, Torre saw a king, two "monks," and "a holy man"; below, the shield, *azure a bend or*, for Scrope, repeated six times; in the first light, St. Paul between two angels, the Virgin and Child (this cannot be right, as this group would not be in a side light), and a group of men; in the middle light, the Virgin and Child between two angels, two "holy women" (perhaps St. Anne and the Blessed Virgin), and the Crucifixion; in the third light, a king (surely St. Peter, to balance St. Paul) between two angels, a "holy woman with a boy in her arms," and a group of soldiers.

The borders display the letters "R. S." and the Scrope arms. This window is the easiest of the group

to read and to date. It appears to have been the gift of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York from 1398 to 1405, and to have contained as principal figures representations of three mothers and their children, perhaps St. Elisabeth with St. John the Baptist, the Virgin with the Child, and St. Anne with the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In the opposite four windows in the south aisle equally drastic changes have taken place.

The first window from the east is now filled with French enamel glass of the seventeenth century which represents the Salutation. It was brought from a church in Rouen, and presented to York Minster by the fifth Earl of Carlisle, whose seat, Castle Howard, lies between York and Malton. The glass does not harmonise with the remainder of the glass in the Lady Chapel, nor does it fit the window-space. The greeting, which takes place in the porch of a house, is expressed by a handshake, and the attitudes of the two women are natural. Zachariah is coming out of a doorway on the right, and the group is completed by a female figure who is selling turtle-doves and by a man and his ass. The spacious hall of the house is shown through an open door from which St. Elisabeth has just emerged. Above the two halves of the scene are pale brown painted canopies, and, below, two representations of the arms of Howard, Earl of Carlisle, each encircled by the badge of the Order of the Garter, with buckle.

Torre saw nothing in the predecessor of this window except white glass in the tracery, as at present, and, at the tops of the two lights, "little images" of a queen enthroned and another woman, and, below, larger figures of an "old saint" and a king.

The glass which Torre saw in the next window bears no likeness to its present contents. In the two lower of the larger compartments of the tracery there were our Lady and another woman, and a group consisting of a king, a saint, and two others. Below were similar collections of miscellaneous people, including, however,

a figure of our Lord, and two compartments were jumbled. In the main lights were (1) an old man in bed, a woman weeping at the sight, our Lady enthroned, and a large figure of a "holy man" with the head broken off; (2) a large image of a king, with a group below; (3) a large image of a king, and, below, a female saint kneeling. There is nothing here to suggest the figures which now ornament the window. Apparently just after Torre's time a change took place in the contents of the window. Doubtless in the year 1707, if anything can be judged from the date in the top compartment of the tracery, the present coloured glass was inserted, and two panels at the foot of each light filled with white glass to provide a background for the canopy and the urns of the Wentworth memorial below. Yet, fragmentary though the subjects are, they are full of interest. Figures of the prophet Isaiah, with scroll, *Ecce virgo*, and a king, probably Edwin, who holds a church, occupy the side lights. In the middle light is a representation of the Blessed Trinity, consisting of the dead Christ, with the Dove whispering into His ear, being supported by the right hand of the Father, which is visible round His right arm near the shoulder, the head of the Father being missing, and His blue robe suggesting His presence. Below are two winged creatures, one of whom is a cherub, and between whom is a winged wheel which is ornamented with a jewel. The canopies are pinnacled, and contain figures of our Lord in the act of blessing, a cherub, and various clerics. The date of the window is a matter of some doubt. Usually regarded as not later than the end of the fourteenth century, it cannot be placed so early, being for the reason that has been given a later insertion of glass, perhaps of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, as it bears certain resemblances to the glass of the east window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate.[1]

The third window from the east has already been described.[2] The next window has to be considered

[1] See pp. 151–154.

[2] See pp. 68–69.

along with the window immediately west of the St. Cuthbert window,[1] and belongs mainly to the Middle Perpendicular period.

The only windows in the aisles of the Lady Chapel that have not been considered are the east windows. One of these is certainly, and the other apparently, later in date than the year 1400. They will be noticed in their proper place.[2]

The thirty-eight lights in the eight clerestory windows formed originally a magnificent series of large single figures under tall buttressed canopies. Twenty-five of them remain, the other thirteen having disappeared from the clerestory at the fire of 1829, and of eight of them no trace can be found in the glass of the Minster. Three windows are in consequence now filled with plain glass, both easternmost windows and the second from the east on the north side. In general, the figures stand against coloured backgrounds of red and blue alternately, and on pedestals, and are surmounted by canopies of various designs, all of the Early Perpendicular period. According to Torre, the tracery of none of the eight windows was filled with figures, and the only designs which he notices in these compartments were of coloured or painted glass, "balled and quarterly," that is, of circles divided into quadrants differently coloured. While for this reason this group could never have been so complete as the group of eight in the western choir, the full series of thirty-eight must have been one of the finest in the country, comparable to the series in the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford.

The two plain glass windows on the north side contained in Torre's time, reading from west to east, (1) St. Stephen, a king, St. Christopher, King Edward the Confessor; (2) St. Paul, a king, with the Plantagenet heraldic device, an archbishop (possibly Thoresby, who built the Lady Chapel), and a female saint. Within a generation, however, it had disappeared, for in 1730 Gent notices only plain glass here. The end window on

[1] See pp. 86–87.

[2] See pp. 80–82 and 84–86.

the south side, of four lights like the one opposite, showed figures of a "holy man" carrying an open book, another "holy man," above whom two women knelt before a church, a third "holy person," and another "holy man" with a scroll over his head. As is revealed by the contents of the other five windows in this group, these windows were glazed on something of a plan. Torre's reading of the large figures in this group of eight windows is a necessary starting-point for an understanding of the contents of them at present. Briefly it is as follows:

North Side

Fourth from east:

St. Peter. | St. John. | St. Andrew. | St. James. | St. Bartholomew.

Each held, as now, a long scroll encircling his figure and containing the portion of the Creed traditionally ascribed to him. Except that St. John and St. Andrew have changed places, and that St. Bartholomew has given place to St. Thomas (if indeed Torre did not mistake the identity of the figure altogether), the contents of this window have not changed.

Third from east:

For this, Torre has five apostles, each of whom holds a scroll. He does not name them, but gives the left-hand figure as that of "St. Pai . . ." which he probably misread for "St. Bar . . ." (St. Bartholomew), as he mentions that the figure holds a naked falchion. The figure, from the words, a portion of the Apostles' Creed, on the scroll, is without doubt intended to be that of St. Bartholomew. Torre, however, went wrong about the three middle figures, which, from the contents of the scrolls which they hold, are intended to represent David, Amos, and Daniel. The remaining figure is that of St. Matthew. There are thus seven apostles accounted for in this and the next window westwards. The other five apparently were never inserted. We might have expected them in the second window from

the east, but it is clear that that window was filled with other figures.

Second from east:

St. Stephen.	A king.	St. Christopher.	King Edward the Confessor.	St. Lawrence.

This window was, up to the year 1926, filled with coloured glass in conventional designs, inserted after the fire of 1829. Of the five original figures, those of St. Stephen, St. Christopher, and St. Lawrence are now in the second window from the west in the south aisle of the nave,[1] as they correspond exactly to Torre's detailed description of them. The other two were doubtless destroyed, as no trace can be found of them anywhere in the glass of the Minster. The figure of St. Christopher is one of two complete representations of this saint in the Minster; the other, a very small figure, is in the tracery of the third window from the west in the clerestory of the north side of the choir. The lower half of another St. Christopher has survived in the fourth window from the east in the south aisle of the choir,[2] where it is obviously an insertion.

First from east, now of plain glass:

St. Paul.	A king, with the Plantagenet shield.	An archbishop, carrying a church.	A female saint.

The king is difficult to identify, unless it can have been meant for Edward I or Edward II. The archbishop may be Thoresby, the builder of the Lady Chapel.

South Side

First from east, now of plain glass:

Torre has four "holy men," below the second of whom "two women kneel before a church." It is possible that two of these figures found their way into the middle lights of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the choir.

[1] See p. 28.

[2] See p. 86.

Second from east:

This window, like the next one westwards, contains groups above the large figures, and it appears to be the earliest in date of the group of clerestory windows in the Lady Chapel. The large figures are under gabled canopies of the same style as those found in the nave windows. The colouring of the glass, too, is reminiscent of the previous period. Glazing of exactly the same style, with groups above the large figures, is to be seen in the westernmost window in the south aisle of the choir. The groups above the large figures are mostly of greenish-white glass and are arranged against coloured backgrounds. The following is a list of the groups and the figures:

The Adoration of the Magi.	The Massacre of the Holy Innocents (?).	The Presentation of our Lord in the Temple.	The Flight into Egypt.	The Annunciation.
St. Matthew.	St. Paul.	St. John.	St. Andrew.	St. Bartholomew.

The description as given by Torre is not clear, but there has been some rearrangement of the contents of both rows since his time, and no light is as it was when he wrote. It is clear, however, that the subjects in the upper row should be in the following order: the Annunciation, the Massacre, the Presentation, the Adoration, and the Flight. The figure of St. Bartholomew is represented as holding an empty skin, in allusion to the tradition that he was flayed alive. The empty arms and legs and head hang downwards in a most heartrending fashion. Here was a representation of the grim reality of a martyrdom.

Third from east:

Torre gave the contents as follows:

The Raising of Lazarus.	Men holding a sheet.	King and Queen enthroned.	Man and woman kneeling in a group.	Our Lord and a woman kneeling before Him.
St. Paul.	Holy woman.	Holy man.	Holy woman.	Holy woman.

The only groups that can at present be read are those in the third, fourth, and fifth lights, which seem to represent the Coronation, the Death, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The saints below, in addition to St. Paul, and to an unknown saint in the second light, are St. Ursula, who holds a ship, St. Margaret, who kills the dragon, and St. Helen, who holds a cross. The canopies above the large figures are later in date than those in the previous window.

Fourth from east :

This window is the companion of the one opposite, being obviously the work of the same man. It shows figures of " holy persons," according to Torre, who are really prophets who hold long scrolls of texts from their writings. The first cannot be identified ; the others are Haggai, Joel, Hosea, and Jeremiah.

Apart therefore from the westernmost window on each side of the clerestory of the four eastern bays, these windows do not appear to have been inserted on any special plan. The five that remain fall into two groups by two different artists : (1) the second and third from the east on the south side and the fourth on the same side, and (2) the third and fourth from the east on the north side. The first group is the earlier in style and date, but nothing certain can be affirmed about the date except that the years 1380 to 1385 may be taken as the dividing-line in time between the two groups.

The windows in the four eastern bays that have not so far been described may be noticed now.

The east window of the south aisle is one of the most beautifully coloured in the Minster, in spite of being sadly mutilated and of containing in the middle light an inserted figure. There is no indication of its exact date ; but from the fragments of canopies, which are octagonal and buttressed, though now by no means showing signs of uniform design, the date is probably about 1400. The inserted figure, under a gabled canopy in the middle light, of a pilgrim with shell on his hat,

who may be intended for St. James, has every appearance of being one of the five preserved from the clerestory of the Lady Chapel after the fire of 1829. The general subject of most of the remainder of the window is St. John the Evangelist. While some reference to all the saints might have been expected in the east window of All Saints' Chapel, it must be remembered that the window pre-dated the foundation of Bowet's chantry at the altar by at least a dozen years. The altar immediately north of the All Saints' altar was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Perhaps that circumstance explains the subject-matter of the window. It is too much to expect the average observer to see in the window now what Torre saw; but the contents have not much changed. In the place of the inserted panel there was originally a representation of the Crucifixion. The three larger tracery panels showed: (1) St. John before the Emperor Domitian, holding the chalice out of which a dragon emerges; (2) St. John in the cauldron, the Emperor and the Empress being present; (3) St. John again before the Emperor, who holds a naked sword. The first panel now shows a ram's head over a crown, a modern insertion probably after the fire. In the six small compartments below there were originally (1) a man in armour leading several horses; (2) and (3) the Adoration of the Magi; (4) and (5) the Massacre of the Holy Innocents; (6) the Flight into Egypt. The first of these may have represented the Journey of the Magi. The large groups in the first and third lights are of (1) King Edward the Confessor (originally his shield was on his cloak, but now only one of the martlets can be seen) giving his ring to the beggar, and (3) St. John giving the ring to two pilgrims. Below the three large subjects are smaller subjects of figures, the only one that is clearly intended to represent St. John being the figure, in the middle light, of an old saint kneeling before an open book. At the foot of the first two lights are fragments of coloured glass in stripes, with fragments of words which cannot be made into

anything intelligible. The borders of the middle light are mutilated beyond recognition; those of the side lights are badly damaged, but they appear to have represented the arms of England and France quartered.

The remainder of the coloured glass in the eastern arm is of the Middle Perpendicular period, with the exception of the first and third windows from the west in the south aisle, which will now be considered.

The first from the west is of Decorated design, and in its general plan is similar to the second and third from the east on the south side of the clerestory of the Lady Chapel, for it consists of a double row (the other two have only a single row each) of large figures under gabled canopies ornamented with yellow crockets and finials, each being surmounted by a group of figures. The colour scheme of the whole, like the canopies, is Late Decorated in character. One writer in recent times[1] suggests that this window was originally in the nave. The miscellaneous and irregular borders that fill the spaces between the "tabernacles" (as Torre calls them) and the plain glass borders point to the insertion of a good deal of "padding" to fill the lights, but Torre reads its contents as they are at present. If the glass was an insertion later in date than the building of the western bays of the eastern arm, the insertion must have taken place before his time. In any case, the glass is earlier in date than the stonework into which it fits. The six figures (reading from the upper row to the lower) are of Old Testament characters; from the scrolls which they hold they are Zechariah, David, Malachi, Jeremiah, Nehemiah (probably), and Joel. Above their heads are representations of scenes from the life of our Lord, as follows: the tribute money; in the Garden of Gethsemane; the Sermon on the Mount; the Entry into Jerusalem; washing the feet of St. Peter; and the Last Supper. There is a complete disregard of historical order in the arrangement of both

[1] Mr. Arnold in *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*, p. 234.

sets of subjects, New Testament and Old Testament. No rearrangement of either set in historical order leaves the other in its correct place. Yet no window could be much easier to read, as the glass is remarkably well preserved. The Last Supper scene shows St. Peter holding the key, and Judas crouching under the table.

The other window, the third from the west, is a well-preserved example of a Jesse tree. In 1730 Thomas Gent, the historian of York, records that the space was occupied by white glass. The Jesse is clearly of a style and a date just before the end of the fourteenth century. Its insertion after 1730, perhaps even after the fire of 1829, suggests some connexion with the dispersed Winchester College Chapel Jesse window; but an examination of the surviving panels of that window which are to be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and at Ettington Park private chapel, Warwickshire, shows that such a suggestion cannot be entertained. Yet the similarity in the size and the drawing of the figures and in the design and the colour of the tree gives ground for the conclusion that, if not made by the same hand, the windows came from the same workshop or from pupils of the same master. The panels at York have been skilfully arranged, even though the tree frequently runs abruptly into the modern coloured border which has been inserted to make the glass fill the lights, and does not reappear across the mullions in the same line. The general background of the window is greyish green in colour. The window contains, counting the figures in the three larger tracery compartments, the six smaller being filled with representations of saints and angels, eighteen figures, all, with the exception of St. John the Baptist, of Old Testament prophets and kings, the following (reading from the top of each light downwards) being the list: (1) Samuel, Zedekiah, Jotham, Manasseh, and Daniel; (2) Ahaziah, Joash, Josiah, Hezekiah, and Ahaz; (3) Abia, Joram, Jeconiah, Elijah, and Amos. In the tracery, besides St. John the Baptist, Asa and

Amon. The mystery of the origin of the window will probably never be solved. The panels may have come from a York church. The records of the original contents of the glass of the York churches, like many other pre-Reformation parochial documents, have been lost.

The Middle Perpendicular glass in the eastern arm is not confined to the five western bays, even though these were built nearly thirty years later than the four eastern bays. Three windows in the eastern bays are of this period—the great east window, the east window of the north aisle, and the fourth from the east in the south aisle. The remainder of the Middle Perpendicular windows are in the transepts and the western bays. They include the two large windows of the choir aisles—the St. William and St. Cuthbert windows—three windows in the north aisle, one in the south aisle, an interesting group of eight in the clerestory of the western choir, and certain of the clerestory windows in the choir transept.[1]

The east window of the north aisle is one of the few in the Minster that can be connected with a chapel underneath. As with the St. Michael window and Chapel in the south transept, the chapel preceded the window. The St. Stephen's Chapel was founded at least as early as the year 1273, nearly a century before the present east wall was begun. It is a fair inference that when the Lady Chapel was completed the chapels which were in existence at the east end of the Transitional choir, those dedicated to St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist, behind the high altar, were transferred to corresponding positions at the new east end. The St. Stephen's Chapel was chosen as the burial-place of Archbishop Richard Scrope, and afterwards of members of his family, the masses for their souls being said at the altar. The establishment of the chapel in this

[1] These are not transepts on the ground plan, for both outside walls, north and south, are straight during their whole length. The transepts were formed by carrying the middle bay of each aisle roof to the level of the central vault, and they appear as transepts only when viewed from above.

place determined the subject-matter of the east window, representations of scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. Stephen, with the Crucifixion in the middle light, and St. John and the Blessed Virgin Mary in the side lights. Below the Crucifixion is an insertion of earlier glass, a figure with gabled canopy which probably came from one of the clerestory windows in the Lady Chapel after the fire of 1829. In Torre's time, two groups, one of which certainly and the other of which probably related to St. Stephen, occupied the place now filled with this figure. The fire of 1829 caused other rearrangement also. One of these centre panels, representing the Stoning of St. Stephen, is now in the left-hand light. The other has disappeared. There are now only four panels devoted to incidents from St. Stephen's life, two in each of the side lights, instead of six which Torre saw. The six small compartments immediately above the lights reveal a portion of the Heavenly choir, six angels playing different kinds of musical instruments. Similar representations were originally in the tracery of some of the aisle windows of the Lady Chapel; and modern glass designed in this way has been placed in the tracery of the fourth window from the east in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel. Above these six angels are figures of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence. At the summit of the window Torre saw a Virgin and Child. The head of the Virgin and the figure of the Child have now disappeared, and have been replaced by a beautiful shield of England and France quartered, surmounted by the motto of the Order of the Garter with buckle. This shield is of late insertion, as can be seen by careful examination, and it was not there in the time of Torre, who records the Virgin and Child. The motto and buckle occur twice in the Carlisle window, the first from the east in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel. The canopies in the lights are of beautiful design, being white, with slender pinnacles reaching to the tops of the lights. They place the window in the group of four, three in

the north aisle and one in the south, which were inserted during the archiepiscopate of Henry Bowet (1407–23). The letter "S," which is to be seen on the groups of white feathers which relieve the background of the large figure in the left-hand light, relates to the Scrope family, but does not help in arriving at a more exact date for the window. Nor do the borders, unless the wolves' heads relate to Robert Wolveden, Treasurer from 1426 to 1432.

The lights of the fourth window from the east in the south aisle are filled with glass of date not far from 1425 to 1430, owing to the reference to Robert Wolveden in one of the panels. It consists entirely of groups, and has no canopies. Torre's description of the contents of the three lights may be summarised briefly as follows: (1) King Edward the Confessor; below, our Lord enthroned; (2) King Oswald; below, our Lady enthroned. The tracery contained three figures in the larger compartments, and six shields immediately over the lights—Edward the Confessor (first and fourth), King Athelstan, the See of Ely,[1] England, and England and France quartered. The tracery now contains modern coloured glass. The contents of the lights bear no resemblance at all to the contents as Torre describes them, and it is possible, if not probable, that the figure of King Edward the Confessor has been transferred to the next window eastwards. The lower part of a figure of St. Christopher at once attracts the eye in the first light. There is no record of the complete figure having been in any other window, and it is probable that this fragment came from a York parish church. Of the remainder of the panels, some undoubtedly came from the window-space now occupied by the Jesse window in the same aisle. From Torre's description of the coloured glass in that window, the following panels can be recognised:

(1) First light, top panel: a priest elevating the Host.

[1] Probably a mistaken reading. The shield would be a royal one.

(2) Second light, top panel: the Ascension (though there is no trace of the figure of our Lord): Torre called this the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

(3) Second light, second panel downwards: two priests kneel before an altar; the name "Wolveden" appears twice.

(4) Third light, first panel downwards: an archbishop elevating the Host.

(5) Third light, second panel downwards: Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

(6) Third light, third panel downwards: St. Thomas of Canterbury (?), walking barefoot.

Here the resemblance ends. Other panels appear to represent (first light) the martyrdom of St. Edmund, (second light) Christ before Pilate, and St. Paul martyred before Nero, and (third light) somebody, perhaps St. Peter, in prison, and Christ before Pilate. Again there is no indication of the source of these panels. The arms of Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York from 1688 to 1691, whose monument is below the window, occupy the lowest panel in the middle light.[1] Torre does not notice them. They were doubtless inserted soon after Torre's death in 1699, perhaps when the glass was assembled in its present position, and in any case before 1730, when the window-space now occupied by the Jesse Window was filled with white glass. There are no borders to the lights, and so a possible indication of the date of the glass is missing.

The group formed by the three windows at the west end of the north aisle and the second from the west in the south aisle present similarity of design sufficient for the conclusion that they were made by the same hand. Each of the twelve lights in the four windows is arranged on the same plan of canopy, silver-coloured and pinnacled, large figure or group, and two panels each representing a subject connected with the large figure or group above.

In the north aisle, the following are represented by

[1] They are probably the work of Henry Gyles, the York glass-painter.

the large figures: in the first window from the west, St. Paul, the Virgin and Child, and St. Peter; in the second window, St. John of Beverley, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. William of York; in the third window, St. Chad, St. Paulinus, and St. Nicholas. There has been no attempt in the second and third windows to draw separate figures to represent the six bishops; the same cartoons have served for each window. This saving of labour will be noticed again in the clerestory windows of the western choir. The groups underneath the large figures have been badly damaged, but from what is known of the lives of the six ecclesiastics in the second and third windows there is no difficulty in identifying any of the scenes. Under the figure of the Virgin and Child there is a beautiful representation of the Annunciation, the Archangel Gabriel having wings of peacock's feathers, and the outline of the Crucifixion being painted on the lily. The representation of the Adoration of the Magi beneath this panel shows the Mother and the Child under an open shed which is thatched with rushes, and the foster-father sleeping in a low chair. One king, with crown removed from his head, presents the golden cup; the second king is taking off his crown; while the third is in the background. The bottom panel is occupied with the kneeling figure of an archbishop before an altar with frontal of red and green stripes on which is represented a shield, *argent three stags' heads caboshed sable*, for Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York from 1407 to 1423. The same shield is on its side behind the archbishop. The donor of the window was evidently Archbishop Bowet, in whose time the Minster was enriched with most of its Middle Perpendicular glass, a new chantry chapel (All Saints', at the east end of the north aisle of the choir), and other gifts of vestments and treasure as evidences of his care for his cathedral church. The bottom panel in the left-hand light, though mutilated, shows the execution of St. Paul before Nero. The executioner is clothed in green and

THE ANNUNCIATION. NORTH AISLE OF CHOIR.

YORK MINSTER.

facing p. 88. [*Photographed by R. C. Green.*

red, and the head of St. Paul has fallen to the ground. Under the figure of St. Peter are a representation of his attempting to walk on the sea to meet our Lord, and one of his imprisonment, in which the gaoler is shown with a villainous face on the cheek of which is a hideous open wound. But perhaps the most striking scene in the window is the conversion of St. Paul, who, clad in plate armour of the early fifteenth century, is falling from his horse at the sight of a beam of light which proceeds from the figure of our Lord in the sky, with an angel at each side. The horse has seen the light and has its head down.

The other two windows in this group do not contain any scene of striking merit, as the lower panels have been sadly mutilated. In the second window, St. William is represented crossing Ouse Bridge, which is breaking under the weight of the people; Herebald falls from his horse to remind the observer of the story that he was restored to health by St. John of Beverley; and St. Thomas of Canterbury is martyred at an altar in his cathedral. In the third window, St. Chad's death is represented at the foot of the first light, the saint being naked except for a mitre with his name, "Scs. Cedda," on it; St. Paulinus is supposed to be shown preaching to the members of the court of Edwin, but this is not clear; and the well-known story of St. Nicholas and the three boys finds a place in the third light.

The donors of the windows are clear. In addition to the figure of Bowet in the first window, the name "Bowet" is painted on a number of scrolls in the borders of each light. The borders of the other two windows are similarly adorned, the second with scrolls containing the name "Parker" (for Thomas Parker, Prebendary of Ampleforth from 1410 to 1423), and the third with the name of Robert Wolveden, Treasurer from 1426 to 1432, on the scrolls, and the bearing of his shield, a wolf's head, repeated in each border. There is no coloured glass of any account in the tracery of any

of the three. All three windows may be ascribed to the years of Bowet's archiepiscopate.

The reading of the second window from the west in the south aisle is not so easy. The large groups are simple enough. They represent three families: (1) Zebedee and Salome with St. John and St. James; (2) St. Joachim and St. Anne with the Blessed Virgin Mary as a girl and the Infant Jesus; and (3) the Holy Family. Another example of a window which contains family groups is the east window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.[1] The niches in the supports of the canopies at the sides of the large figures contain smaller figures of Old Testament characters such as David, Jacob, Ezekiel, Josiah, Jotham, and Samuel, at whose identity a fairly certain guess may be made. Under each of the main groups are two subject panels, the reading of which is no easy matter, even with a little help from Torre. In the first light there is a mutilated panel at the foot, about which nothing can be hazarded in the way of a guess. Above that the marriage of Zebedee and Salome is clear. In the middle light there is a bed at the foot, on which is a scroll which reads: *Beata Anna*, and the panel probably represented at one time the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The panel above contains eight or nine figures, one of whom is offering a lamb at an altar, but the reference is uncertain. In the third light the upper of the two subject panels shows the appearance of an angel to a young man, and contains a scroll which seems to suggest the dream of Joseph in which he was told to take unto himself Mary, his wife. Against this may be urged that Joseph is usually represented as a much older man. The lower panel may represent the betrothal of Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary. If the suggestions here are right, the window can probably be read downwards, and not across, as one writer has held.

Apart from the three "walls of glass" in the choir, the only windows in the eastern arm that have not been

[1] See p. 153.

FIGURE OF PAULINUS.

NORTH AISLE OF CHOIR.

YORK MINSTER.

[*Photographed by G. Coverdale's Sons.*

facing p. 90.

noticed so far are the group of eight, four on each side, in the clerestory of the western choir. Six of these are of five lights each, with tracery, which, unlike the tracery of the aisles, retains most of its coloured glass. The other two are of four lights each. A detailed

FALL OF BABYLON ANNOUNCED.
(East Window, York Minster.)

examination of the contents of this group of windows cannot be made here. They are, however, amongst the most interesting windows in the Minster.

Each light is glazed on the same plan: (1) a panel of plain glass with coloured border at the foot, to allow for the obscuring of the view of this row of panels owing

to this group of windows being recessed, and not level with the face of the wall, as is the case with the clerestory windows of the Lady Chapel; (2) an heraldic shield, this series of shields forming a rival to the fine series in the nave; (3) a large figure in a canopied "tabernacle," the canopies being pinnacled and set against backgrounds which are alternately red and blue, and containing small figures characteristic of the period to which this glass belongs. The tracery over the five-light windows is only more elaborate than that over the four-light windows, each of which is formed by missing out the central light and the six large and the two much smaller compartments of tracery above it. Counting the smaller compartments, each five-light window has in the tracery eighteen large panels, each of which originally contained a figure, twelve small panels, and four tiny ones. The last sixteen may be disregarded in this description of the windows, but they play an important, if small, part in the design.

The large figures in each of the five-light windows are arranged on the same plan in each window, namely, a pope in the middle light, flanked by kings in the second and fourth lights, and by ecclesiastics (bishops or archbishops) in the extreme lights. In the four-light windows the large figures represent two kings and two ecclesiastics. It is only to be expected that the same cartoon has done duty several times, with variations according to the rank of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, all of whom are in full vestments, with cope in some cases and chasuble in others. All the figures are richly vested; the triple crowns of the popes are of gold, and the mitres of the archbishops and bishops are of gilt and jewels; the kings are gorgeously arrayed in ermine and robes of handsome material, and they wear gold belts and hold sceptres of gold. A study of an Inventory of the ornaments and vestments of York Minster dated 1510 shows that this array of purple and fine linen was no fancy of the artist, but a truthful representation of fact. In very few cases did the fire

of 1829 make it possible to repair or to replace the injured glass of the name-plates under the figures, many of which are mutilated and some of which have disappeared altogether. It is therefore impossible to identify all the figures. Enough remains, however, to reveal the plan on which each window was glazed. Torre is of very little help, as his reading of some of the scrolls is obviously wrong.

As an example of the general plan on which the large figures were arranged, the fourth window from the west on the north side may be examined. The five figures are of St. John of Beverley (Archbishop of York from 705 to 718), King Ceolwulf (732–58), whose figure is a strange mutilation of modern glass, a pope, and Archbishop Wilfrid II (718–37). Four of these are historical figures of the first half of the eighth century, but it is not clear which pope is intended. It is a fair inference that each window contained figures of people who were contemporaries of one another. From those of the series of thirty-eight, nineteen on each side, which can be identified, it is evident that the idea of the designer of the window was to make a brave show of the ecclesiastics and kings from Paulinus and Edwin onwards who made the epic of the conversion of Northumbria and the establishment of the Christian Church from the beginning of the seventh century onwards, to which York Minster was the outstanding witness. There is no finer series of figures in the whole range of English medieval glass.

The figures in the tracery lights are unfortunately incomplete and mutilated, especially on the south side, where the fire of 1829 seems to have raged more fiercely than in any other part of the choir. The four western bays suffered more severely than the three eastern bays because there was burning wood below in the stalls and above in the roof. Yet sufficient remains of the contents of the tracery lights on the north side to indicate that there was in each window a regular and symmetrical plan of arrangement for the numerous

small figures that filled these lights. The glazing of so many small compartments—132 in all contained figures—must have taxed the ingenuity of the designers, and it is not surprising to find that the same figure, perhaps that of an apostle, is repeated in the series.

In addition to apostles, the list of the Old Testament prophets and saints of the Church was freely drawn on, together with the figures of angels and archangels. The regularity of the arrangement of the figures in the second window from the west in the north side may be taken as typical of the symmetry to be met with in each window. The list is as follows, K standing for "king" and A for "apostle":

K K
K K A A K K
AA AA A A AA AA

Many of the figures all through the series on the north side can be identified, either from remains of scrolls or from emblems. The complete set of twelve apostles in the window just mentioned includes St. Paul, but the identity of two of the other apostles is uncertain.

The thirty-eight heraldic shields in this group of windows have been in some cases damaged and in other cases rearranged. They throw much light not only on the dates of individual windows, but also on the circumstances of their insertion. The third from the lantern on the north side contains the Scrope shield seven times, five times beneath the large figures and twice in the tracery. Remains of the lion in *sable* outline on the bend are still to be seen, but though Torre notices no marks for difference on any of them that would enable each to be attributed to its rightful owner, such differences must have existed once, and some writers give a list of them and John Browne reproduces sketches of them. One of the figures in the tracery, an angel, holds the shield of Archbishop Scrope, who was beheaded in 1405. While it may seem at first sight improbable that the Dean and Chapter

would display in a window so prominently the shield of a family one member of which had been executed for rebellion, it is certain, from the fact that Henry IV lent one of his masons, William of Colchester, to assist in the building of the lantern tower, that the king was anxious to atone for his action in sending to his death a leading member of a great Yorkshire family and Archbishop of York. The window was probably Richard Scrope's memorial in the glass and the gift of his cousins, the Scropes of Bolton, and was inserted soon after his death.

The next window going eastwards is an example of the munificence of the Bowet family, if not of Henry Bowet himself while he was archbishop. His own shield-of-arms is in the middle light, and is flanked by others which impale it. Perhaps a date earlier than his death in 1423 must be suggested, as all these eight windows must have been inserted within a very few years. The archiepiscopate of Henry Bowet (1407–23) is almost certainly the period to which all these windows, with four in the western portions of the aisles of the choir, belong—one of the most fruitful periods in the building and decoration of the Minster, for it saw not only a great deal of glazing but also the building of the lantern tower.

The first and second windows from the lantern tower on the same side can also be dated within narrow limits from the heraldry which they display. The first window contains in the fourth light the shield of Thomas Walworth, Prebendary of Bugthorpe and brother of the famous Sir William Walworth, Mayor of London. Thomas died in 1406. In the third light is the shield of Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, who died in 1400. The shield of England and France quartered, in the first light, which shows the *fleur-de-lis* reduced to three, places the earliest limit of the date of the window as towards the middle of the reign of Henry IV. Bowet's coat-of-arms completes the set of four. The window therefore commemorates both Dalby and

Walworth, and belongs to the period from about 1406 onwards.

The presence in the next window going westwards of the arms of John of Nottingham, Treasurer from 1415 to 1418, and of the arms of Warenne within a *bordure argent*, probably in allusion to Thomas Arundel, who was translated from York to Canterbury in 1396 and died in 1414, places the glass about 1415.

On the south side, all four shields in the first window are of early ecclesiastical personages, and have no bearing on the date of the glass.

In the second window, Cardinal Beaufort's arms in the first light are doubtless introduced because he held the prebend of Riccall from 1390 to 1398. He may have given this light. The shield in the middle light bears *three buckles in fess sable*, and has been attributed [1] to Thomas Haxey, Treasurer from 1418 to 1425. If this is the case—and there is considerable doubt on the point—the date of the window is fixed within limits. None of the other shields help.

The only shields in the third window about which there is no doubt, and which throw light on the date of the glass, are those of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham from 1388 to 1405, and formerly Canon of York, and Thomas Langley, also a former Canon of York, Bishop of Durham from 1406 to 1437, and Cardinal. The shield of Harrington impaling Courtenay refers to the marriage between Thomas Harrington and Elizabeth Courtenay. Harrington died in 1418. A date between 1406 and 1418 seems therefore probable.

The arms of Robert Wolveden in the fourth window are the only ones of the five which seem to have any bearing on the date. Three of the other shields present difficulties; but there can be little doubt that, as six of the eight windows in this group belong to the archiepiscopate of Bowet, the other two may be attributed to the same period.

It was a happy inspiration on the part of those who

[1] Purey-Cust, *Heraldry of York Minster*, facing p. 417.

built the latest portion of the church apart from the towers to associate their early predecessors with themselves in this blend of figures and shields-of-arms.

The Choir Transepts

The clerestory windows of the choir include two in each transept, which face east and west respectively and flank the St. William and St. Cuthbert windows. The two in the north transept are glazed completely with white glass with the exception of two shields at the head of the tracery of each, and of the borders. Torre does not mention these shields at all. They belong, however, unquestionably to the early fifteenth century. The shields in the east window are: (1) England and France quartered, with a label *ermine*, probably for John of Gaunt; and (2) *sable a chevron or between three lions argent.*

In the west window are the following shields-of-arms: (1) *or a lion rampant azure*, for Percy; and (2) *azure three chevrons argent*, for Lewknor. In the case of these four isolated shields, which may have been placed in their present position at any time, speculation as to the reason for their insertion is not likely to yield profitable results. The borders consist of gold crowns with knots on blue and red grounds, and in each window they have been inserted in the wrong order of colours.

There is very much more coloured glass in the windows of the south transept, and it was noticed by Torre. There are coloured borders as in the other two windows, and they are relieved with similar devices, but the backgrounds are all red, and the borders are not complete. In the east window there is one large figure, that of Archbishop Scrope, which is placed under a Middle Perpendicular canopy. Below his figure is the kneeling figure of a cleric, the scroll round whom proclaims him to be Stephen Scrope, Archdeacon of Richmond. The devices in the four side panels on the same level as the canopy are a white star, a monogram

consisting apparently of the letters A R, the letters I H S, and a yellow star. Besides the Scrope shields in the window there are those of: (1) Scrope of Masham impaling Chaworth and Alfreton quarterly, referring to the marriage of Sir John Scrope (d. 1455) with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Chaworth; and (2) Hotham, a well-known Yorkshire family, this shield probably referring to John de Hotham, who in 1353 married Ivetta, daughter of Sir Geoffrey Scrope. This window would appear to have been the gift of the family of Scrope of Masham, to which the archbishop belonged, as their memorial of him in the glass of his cathedral. The Bolton Scropes had given for a similar purpose the third window from the west on the north side of the clerestory of the choir.

The west window of the south transept of the choir is glazed in the same style, with similar devices and with a large figure of St. William. The four shields are of: (1) Robert Wolveden; (2) the Dean and Chapter; (3) Gascoigne, probably for Sir William Gascoigne, Chief Justice in the early part of the reign of Henry IV, who pleaded before the king for the life of Archbishop Scrope; and (4) St. William of York. There is no evidence to connect this window with the Scrope family, but it is by the same hand, and doubtless of the same date, and Gascoigne's arms may have been inserted out of the gratitude felt towards him by the Scrope family. Both windows can probably be dated during the treasurership of Wolveden (1426–32).

The only coloured glass not so far noticed in the Minster is the double row of cross-keys, forty-eight in number, which relieves the white glass of the windows of the lantern tower. They are variously coloured white and gold, and are on backgrounds of red and blue. With the exception of a few panels of early sixteenth-century glass, they are the latest pre-Reformation glass which York Minster possesses. The extract from the Fabric Rolls which refers to them is quoted on pages 66 and 67. They are contemporary with the last addi-

FIGURE OF AN ARCHBISHOP.

NORTH SIDE OF CLERESTORY.
OF CHOIR.

FIGURES OF RICHARD SCROPE,
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND
STEPHEN SCROPE, ARCHDEACON
OF RICHMOND.

SOUTH CHOIR TRANSEPT.

YORK MINSTER

[*Photographed by*
William Watson.

[*Photographed by*
William Watson.

facing p. 98.

tions made to the stonework of the exterior in the completion of the north-west tower.

No account of any considerable collection of medieval glass is complete without some reference to the decoration of quarries. No detailed account of the quarries in the glass of York Minster can be given here. Many of the representations refer to features of the life of all time, such as the man leading the performing bear, the schoolmaster administering corporal punishment to his pupil, the dancer with the long ribbon or rope, and the street musician who with his bells and drum is an orchestra in miniature. Amongst birds are the ring-dove and an owl which has captured a rat. A patient study reveals hundreds of details which a general survey such as the present has not been able to notice. The time spent will be amply rewarded.

CHAPTER VI

THE ST. WILLIAM WINDOW, THE ST. CUTHBERT WINDOW, AND THE EAST WINDOW

The possession of any one of these three "walls of glass" would confer a rare distinction on any church, even on any cathedral church. A cathedral that enshrines all three is by this mere fact lifted above any other. When to these are added the Five Sisters window, the great west window, and the six unrestored Chapter-house windows, the degree of superiority over all other English cathedrals is most marked.

Each of the three windows belongs to a period that has been remarked already as fruitful in the production of masterpieces of Perpendicular windows. The Decorated windows of the nave, the chapter-house, and the vestibule, forty-four in number, were inserted within about forty years. They include eight very large windows, counting the restored window in the chapter-house. The archiepiscopate of Henry Bowet lasted for sixteen years, and saw the making of probably seventeen windows, including the three largest windows in the choir. In these days, when new churches, even of the simplest forms and containing only white glass windows, are built with such difficulty, it is little short of amazing that a great church such as York Minster, which is only amongst the largest of many, could be built and beautified with every form of Christian art with such apparent ease. And the achievements of Bowet's occupation of the see become still more remarkable when to them is added the erection of the lantern tower, the largest of its kind so far in this country.

The St. William and St. Cuthbert windows form a

ST. WILLIAM WINDOW. FIFTEEN PANELS.

YORK MINSTER

facing p. 100. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

pair of windows unequalled in richness and grandeur in this country. Until the year 1726 the position of these two windows was more obviously important than it is now, for the high altar stood one bay farther westwards, so that the celebrant and the other two sacred ministers at High Mass were flanked by their gorgeous setting. The story of the life of St. William of York cannot be told here. After holding the treasurership of the Minster for some years, he was elected to the vacant see in the year 1140, but a disputed election and the success of a rival candidate, a monk, Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, postponed his enthronement until the year 1154. He occupied the see only a few weeks. He died in June 1154, and was buried in the nave at a spot marked with a modern brass a few feet south of the second pier from the lantern tower on the north side. The desire on the part of the Dean and Chapter to have the bones of a saint buried in their church, perhaps to stimulate the offerings of the faithful to the fabric fund for the building of the new, the present, cathedral, which was projected, was acceded to by Pope Honorius III, and William Fitzherbert, archbishop, was canonised in the year 1226. The translation of his bones did not take place till January 8, 1283–4, when, in the presence of Edward I, Queen Eleanor, Archbishop Wickwane, Antony Bek, Bishop-elect of Durham, ten other bishops, and a distinguished company of nobles, the feretory containing his bones was removed from the nave to a chamber behind the high altar of Archbishop Roger's Transitional choir and placed in a shrine, representations of which—though no two are alike—occur no fewer than twenty-three times in the window. It was fitting, therefore, that when the Perpendicular choir was designed for two large windows to flank the altar on north and south, the first to be glazed with coloured glass should be devoted to the life and miracles of St. William.

It was not until the year 1422 that the project could

be carried out. The donors were members of the family of Ros of Hamlake (Helmsley) Castle, ruins of which still impress the visitor to Helmsley. From the building of the nave onwards the Ros family had its arms (*gules three water-budgets argent*) placed in the stonework and in the glass, as an indication of its generosity in the building of the Decorated portions of the Minster. On September 1, 1414, there died William de Ros, seventh baron. He left issue four daughters and five sons, of whom the eldest son was John, the eighth baron, who married Margaret Despenser, daughter of Philip Despenser and Elizabeth Tiptoft, and died in 1421 at the age of twenty-two. He was succeeded in the barony by his younger brother, Thomas. The figures of several of the large family of the seventh baron, one of whom, John, is accompanied by his wife, Margaret Despenser, are to be seen in the lowest row of panels in the window, obviously as donors. The presumption is that the window was presented in memory of William, seventh baron, by his children, and that it would be completed a short time after the death of John, eighth baron, in March, 1421–2. It may therefore be ascribed to the year 1422.

The method that was adopted of glazing five lights each 70 feet high and less than 2 feet across was the same as that in the east window, and it is found also in glass of much later date, as at Great Malvern Priory Church. The window is divided lengthways into four main divisions, consisting respectively, in height, of five, six, five, and five panels. There are in the whole window 105 separate panels in the lights alone. The tracery contains eighteen larger panels and twelve smaller ones of varying sizes, all of which, except the eight smallest, have figures of archbishops, kings, and angels, the topmost two showing our Lord and our Lady as King and Queen of Heaven. The separate panels have no canopies except at the tops of the horizontal divisions, each of which consists of a "head" and double "shoulders." The effect of this design, enriched

as it is with the magnificent colours of the glass, in which a deep blue predominates, is most striking, in spite of the fact that, the window being on the north side, the sun never shines through it. The double mullions of the lower two divisions add strength without clumsiness.

The indispensable authority for an exhaustive study of this window is a paper by Dr. James Fowler in *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal* for the year 1874. In that paper Mr. Fowler described with great care and accuracy every panel in the window, and quoted Torre's remarks on each panel. He found not merely that the order of the panels had been changed since Torre's time, probably after the fire of 1829, but also that the order as it existed at the time of his examination was incorrect. In the year 1895, the whole window was removed by Mr. J. W. Knowles, and after restoration was replaced in the order suggested by Mr. Fowler, the whole work being carried out with the advice and assistance of the late Canon J. T. Fowler, of Durham. These two had already been associated in a similar task on the St. Cuthbert window (see pages 110 and 111). A full-sized cartoon of every panel was made, and a photograph of every panel was taken. The cartoons and the negatives are still in the possession of Mr. Knowles.

The panels representing the donors are in the first row. The males are dressed in plate armour, and each wears a short red surcoat, red being the colour of the field of the shield, bearing three *water-budgets* with traces of certain marks for difference, such as a mullet, a trefoil, and a label of three points. Two of them wear jewelled chaplets. The ladies are to be seen in the fifth light (the daughters of the seventh baron, one figure being very fragmentary), in the first light (Margaret, wife of the eighth baron), and the second light (the same lady).

Of the forty-seven remaining panels in the lower two divisions of the window, thirty-eight refer to scenes connected with the life and death of St. William.

Of these, thirty-five occupy the whole of the rows from the third to the ninth inclusive. The enthronement is represented twice—the premature ceremony in the first light of the fourth row, and the legal one in the fifth light of the eighth row. Many of the panels in the rows from the first to the seventh illustrate the course of the dispute as to the respective claims of him and of his successful rival, Henry Murdac, to the archiepiscopate, and include scenes from his journeys to Rome and his visit to Robert, King of Sicily. The best known of the scenes relating to his life are in the eighth and ninth rows, and a single panel in the first light of the ninth row shows him celebrating Mass on Trinity Sunday, his last appearance in public. The well-known scenes attending William's arrival at Micklegate Bar, where, in accordance with custom, he was met by the civic authorities, his progress to the Minster over Ouse Bridge, which broke under the weight of the concourse of people who thronged to welcome him back to York after his long exile, his reception at the west end of the Minster by the Dean and Canons, his second enthronement and the feast attending it (at which one of the guests was the Mayor of York, wearing the cap of maintenance, and one of the clergy is giving a bone to a dog), his illness and reception of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and his burial in the Minster—all these are faithfully represented and are very little mutilated.

There still remained nearly sixty panels to be glazed so as to depict the events attending the translation of the body of the saint and the miracles attributed to him after his death. The miracles will be referred to later. The events surrounding his translation occupy eight panels, four in the row below and four in the row above, the division between the third and fourth divisions of the window. They show (1) the invitation of King Edward and Queen Eleanor to attend the ceremony; (2) the injury to the King, who falls as he is on his journey to York, but rises uninjured; (3) the

Photo. F. A. Knowles.

BOY HEALED AT SHRINE OF ST. WILLIAM OF YORK.

ST. WILLIAM WINDOW.

YORK MINSTER.

Photo. F. A. Knowles.

LEPER WOMAN HEALED AT SHRINE OF ST. WILLIAM OF YORK.

ST. WILLIAM WINDOW.

YORK MINSTER.

facing p. 104.

King before the image of St. William; (4) another scene which depicts the journey of the King and Queen on horseback, attended by two companions; (5) the opening of the tomb, in the presence of six ecclesiastics; (6) two panels showing the procession, the King, the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Durham and St. David's carrying the feretory; and (7) a stone falling on the head of a man who is sleeping during the sermon.

The twelfth row, which is immediately above the place where the horizontal double tracery ceases, is, and apparently always was, filled with fragments of coloured glass. The miracles, and the circumstances which gave rise to some of them, occupy forty-five panels and show thirty-five separate examples. Of these, the eleventh row is entirely occupied by panels illustrating a quarrel, the injury resulting from it, and the cure, in this case the supplying of a new eye for one that had been lost in the quarrel. The twentieth row, the second from the top, has three panels that refer to another miracle, that on Roger of Ripon, who was seriously injured by a falling stone. One of the curiosities shown in the Treasury of the Minster is a large fragment of stone, inscribed: *Qui cecidit super caput Rogeri de Ripon*, which was found in July 1867 in a drain in Castlegate, York, and was restored to the Minster as being presumably the stone which caused the accident here depicted. As has been mentioned, there are twenty-three representations of shrines in the window, and a modern model of the shrine is to be seen in the entrance-hall of St. William's College, York, the building in which the college of chantry priests founded in the second half of the fifteenth century was housed.

The subject of the miracles and the shrine opens up some interesting questions. The name of St. William of York, found twice in the calendar of the York service-books, is absent from all others. This in itself is sufficient indication that, however great the reputation of the saint at York, he was little accounted of else-

where ; and the presumption is that some of the miracles attributed to him had no foundation in fact. While Beverley had St. John of Beverley and Durham could boast of St. Cuthbert, York had no saint until St. William was canonised at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was humiliating for the York clergy to have to journey thirty miles to Beverley, a daughter-church, to appeal in person to a saint, even though that saint had occupied the see of York. For instance, at a time of great drought the prayers of the Church in York were not answered until a visit had been paid to Beverley. It was only to be expected therefore that when nearly fifty panels had to be filled with representations of miracles attributed to St. William, some confusion arose as to the credit for certain miracles, and the saint whose bones were in the metropolitan church should have been represented as having done more wonderful things of the same kind than St. John of Beverley or St. John of Bridlington. St. John had restored sight to a blind man, but St. William replaced the eyes of a man who had lost them in a quarrel. This emulation—not to call it by a more severe name—was not one-sided ; many other instances of it might be quoted, even on the part of the clergy of Beverley and Bridlington. An insight is thus gained into the workings of the medieval mind.

Apart from the royal contributions to the shrine of St. William being larger than those to any other shrine except the shrines of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Cuthbert of Durham, the shrine itself could not compare with that of St. John of Beverley for popularity. It is generally mentioned in wills in a subordinate position, even, in the will of William Ecop, Rector of Heslerton, near Scarborough, coming after the shrines of St. Mary of Doncaster, St. Thomas of Lancaster (at Pontefract), St. Saviour of Newburgh, St. Mary of Scarborough, St. Botolph of Hackness, the Crucifix at Thorpe Basset, and St. Mary of Guisborough.[1] A certain Roger de Wandesford, of the county of Nottingham,

SHRINE OF ST. WILLIAM OF YORK.

YORK MINSTER—ST. WILLIAM WINDOW.

facing p. 106. [*Reproduced from the Yorkshire Archæological Journal.*

which was then in the diocese of York, wishing to render thanks for his escape from a storm on a voyage between Ireland and Norway, bequeathed a sum of money to support a pilgrim on a journey to Beverley and Bridlington, by the saints of which places he had been delivered; yet St. William is represented in the window as stilling a storm (tenth row, middle light). The most glaring instance, however, of a disregard of St. William is in the will of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, who declares that he makes his bequests in the name of the Trinity, and of certain saints, including St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrid, but excluding St. William, whose shrine he must constantly have seen behind the high altar in his own cathedral. St. William was indeed known outside Yorkshire, but not to any great extent. While his name is not found in any calendar except that of York, St. John of Beverley's name is in those of York, Sarum, and Hereford, and St. Cuthbert is included in these three and in that of Aberdeen.

It is impossible here to attempt anything more than an outline of the value of the window as a commentary on the common things and ideas of life in the North of England during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Ecclesiastical life is naturally profusely illustrated. The details of the procession of an archbishop from the boundaries of the city to the cathedral, which have been referred to, are in exact agreement, so far as five panels can give them, with the document describing the journey of Archbishop Kemp from Micklegate Bar to the Minster in the year 1425.[1] The ceremonies attending the Administration of the Last Sacraments, the Burial of the Dead, the Translation of Relics and Votive Offerings are faithfully depicted; while there are pictorial representations of croziers, processional crosses, thuribles, and incense-boats. The panels that relate to common life are perhaps of wider appeal. The trappings of horses, merchant vessels,

[1] Contained in the Minute Book of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster.

alms-boxes of beggars, bedroom furniture, sleeping apparel (really the lack of it, according to the custom of the time, one old man having nothing on but a night-cap, and another man processing round the church, to show that he had been confined to bed, with hardly any clothing at all)—these and many other similar things are a continual delight to the eye and form the only kind of authority apart from effigies, brasses, and rare illuminations. A great deal could be written about the medieval costumes portrayed in this window. The chaplet worn by the nobility and the gentry has been referred to. The dress of both men and women is abundantly illustrated. The stuffed surcoats worn by the males of the Ros family over their armour are of the short type into which the longer tunic of the fourteenth century developed. Each of the Ros youths wears the chaplet, which was distinctive of men and women of fashion. The young pupil of St. John of Beverley, Herebald, who is represented (in the fifteenth row, second light) falling from his horse, is wearing leather breeches, which, by the fifteenth century, had come into fashion amongst the lower classes, linen cloth not being sufficiently durable. Male headgear is exemplified by the cap of maintenance worn by the Mayor and by several examples of caps and hats of various shapes. In the Ripon Chapter Act Book, under date July 4, 1466, there is mention of "Maioria Claton, cappe-knytter," the making of caps being evidently a separate industry. The panel which depicts the measuring of the leg of a man who is in bed (eighteenth row, fifth light) shows also two women in attendance on him. One wears the kerchief over her hair; the other does not. The dresses which they wear, so far as can be seen, present no extravagant features. One wears a girdle round her waist, and the other a white apron. The bedstead could almost pass for a modern one. The ends of pillow-cases are open, revealing the pillow itself to be embroidered with yellow. This was the early use of a pillow-case—to protect the

pillow. The bed-hangings are of white flowers on a yellow ground. The bedroom furniture consists of a table on which are a washing-bowl, a jug, and a loaf. Feminine headdress is represented by the hat of Margaret de Ros, whose figure is in the first row, second light. The hat is of the well-known "horned" kind. Considering the social position of the wearer, it is not in the least extravagant in style, as ladies' hats of the period usually were. Many other articles of dress might be quoted, including the pouch, the ancestor of the pocket, which was attached to the belt.

Another subject of general interest on which this window throws much light is the existence of diseases such as leprosy, deafness, blindness, deformities of various kinds, and internal maladies such as dropsy, stone, and concussion. These and other troubles were referred to the saint at his shrine. If the patient was bedridden and unable to pay a personal visit, a model of the deformed or diseased part of the body was presented at the shrine. In the eighteenth row, second light, a model of the leg measured in the fifth light of the same row is held before the shrine by a man, and in the background is a line on which hang a lady's head, a deformed arm, and a heart, left there to be a constant reminder to the saint of the needs of stricken humanity. It is easy to ridicule our forefathers for their touching belief in the efficacy of the powers of the saints. When all allowances have been made for unscientific diagnosis of diseases, for exaggeration as to their seriousness, for falling into the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, and for the conception, not entirely dead even to-day, of God as a Being who could be propitiated with material offerings, the fact remains that both those who believed that they had been cured through the intervention of the saints and those who executed the pictures in glass were sincere in their beliefs.

The St. Cuthbert Window

Not many windows tell the story of the restorations which they have undergone. The twenty-third panel in the St. Cuthbert window, the middle panel in the third row above the first division, proclaims, in words scratched on it with a diamond: "This window was repaired 1721. Stonework and glass. Do. again repaired 1775, and again 1830." To this list of three restorations may be added a fourth in the years 1887 and 1888. The ten royal and ecclesiastical personages whose figures occupy the panels below the first historical division were hardly changed in any of the restorations. From the time of the insertion of the window, however, to the end of the seventeenth century, when Torre wrote his notes on the York Minster glass, the panels in the remainder of the window, as far as the tracery, were entirely changed in order, so that panel 12 as originally inserted had become in Torre's account panel 79, panel 26 was found in the place of panel 64, and panel 85 was fifteenth in order. From a study of the manuscripts on the life of St. Cuthbert which were in existence at the time when the window was made, Canon J. T. Fowler arrived at his suggested order of the panels; and he comes to the conclusion, which is so reasonable as to be almost certainly the correct one, that on their removal to a place of safety during the Civil War, by orders of Fairfax, they were packed in boxes from which they were taken for replacement exactly as they came, and therefore in the reverse order to that in which they had been put into the boxes, with the story beginning at the top of the window instead of, as at present, near the bottom. In the process some panels, which Torre could not read, were presumably badly damaged. The restorations of 1775 and 1830 resulted in a further incorrect arrangement. When the restoration of 1887–8 was determined upon, Canon Fowler and Mr. J. W. Knowles, the York glass-painter, to whom the work was entrusted, advised a replacement of the panels

FIGURES OF NICHOLAS BLACKBURN, JUNIOR, AND MARGARET, HIS WIFE.

EAST WINDOW.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

[*By permission of the Rev. P. J. Shaw.*

facing p. 110.

in their original order, so far as Canon Fowler could determine this. The work involved the removal of six panels foreign to the subject-matter of the window, which are preserved in the easternmost window on the north wall of the Lady Chapel, and the manufacture by Mr. Knowles of twelve new panels to take the place of these and of six others which were found to be so mutilated that it was advisable to replace them by new glass containing representations of the scenes that would otherwise have been missing. The policy justified itself. The new glass can be distinguished from the old, even with the naked eye, but it has caused hardly any break in the general effect of the window. It was an interesting experiment that has not, however, been repeated in the work that has been proceeding on the York Minster glass since the year 1920. This process is mere " preservation " of the old glass, and the windows are replaced exactly as they are taken out except for cleaning, filling up the holes with plain or coloured glass of the correct shade, and re-leading. This method of preservation was approved early in 1921 by a small number of well-known experts on the treatment of old glass. The experiment made on the St. Cuthbert window forty years ago, however, deserves to be recorded in any account on the present scale of the old glass of the city of York.

The St. Cuthbert window is a slightly later example of the same kind of window as the St. William window. The two are virtually twin sisters, with the general resemblances and the general differences usually found in twins. The nearness in the dates of the two, the identity in size and shape, the double tracery as far as the top of the second horizontal division—these are resemblances. The greater prominence given in the St. Cuthbert window to contemporary royal and ecclesiastical personages, the more limited scope of the life of a saint who lived more than four centuries before the other, the brighter and more vivid colours of the glass—these are differences. It would be too great

a hazard to suggest that they were executed by the same hand. The indentures containing the terms on which they were glazed, even though the Keeper of the Fabric would appear as the intermediary between the private donors and the glass-painters, have not been preserved. In the absence of any information, the utmost that can be said is that the later window, with the example of the earlier determining the limits of style, arrangement, and colouring which could not be exceeded, is a work of no slavish imitation, but bears the stamp of the independence of a genius which, content to accept certain restrictions, yet produced a window which has its own individuality

The general contents of the window are as follows: (1) in the lowest division, figures of kings and ecclesiastics, grouped round the large figure of St. Cuthbert in the middle light; (2) from the beginning of the second division to the tracery, events from the life of St. Cuthbert; (3) in the tracery, saints and angels in entirely new glass in nineteen compartments, the figure of our Lord enthroned occupying the topmost compartment. While the St. William window has 135 figure panels in all, the St. Cuthbert window has only 104. This is due to a slight difference in the size of some of the panels, especially in the portion of the St. Cuthbert window below the first horizontal division, which contains only ten figures instead of twenty-five as in the St. William window. In both windows the row at the foot of the third division is filled with fragments, which, however, are not noticed from below owing to the transom. The probability is that this was done because the subjects of the east window in the row immediately above the gallery cannot be seen from below except at a distance so great that they cannot be read at all.

The ten figures in the lowest division can be identified from remains of scrolls which still survive. In the lower row they are: (1) Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York from 1407 to 1423; (2) Henry Beaufort, Bishop

ST. CUTHBERT WINDOW, TOP OF LIGHTS.

YORK MINSTER

facing p. 112.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

of Winchester and Cardinal, who died in 1447, and whose chantry-tomb still remains in Winchester Cathedral; (3) Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who died in the same year; (4) John Kemp, Bowet's successor as Archbishop of York, who was translated to Canterbury in 1452, became a Cardinal, and died in 1454; (5) Thomas Langley, Canon and Dean of York, Bishop of Durham, and Cardinal, who died in 1437. The figures in the lower row are of Henry V, Henry VI, St. Cuthbert (who holds the crowned head of St. Oswald), John of Gaunt, and Henry IV.

As the remains of an inscription in the Langley panel indicate, the window was the gift of Langley to the cathedral of which he had been Canon and Dean. The general subject of the window, and the presence in it of the figures of the royal and ecclesiastical persons which it contains, are easily accounted for. Nobody can visit Durham Cathedral without realising the inspiration which St. Cuthbert has given to the religious life of which it has been the centre for over nine centuries. The sister window-space at York had been filled with glass depicting the life and the miracles of St. William of York. What more fitting than that a donor who occupied the position of Bishop of Durham should choose as the subject-matter of the new window the life and miracles of St. Cuthbert? Further, Langley, a Lancashire man who owed his early advancement to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and became in consequence an ardent Lancastrian on the accession of Henry IV, would wish to honour with prominent positions the four generations of the heads of the Lancastrian family whom he had seen and to whom he owed many favours. The Duke of Gloucester gains a place probably because he was not only brother of Henry V but also Protector during the minority of Henry VI, when this window was inserted. Cardinal Beaufort, natural son of John of Gaunt, is included probably owing to this relationship, and also because of his association with Langley. Bowet appears as

an old friend of Langley, who naturally desired to commemorate his work in a window erected not long after his death, and just as naturally was grateful to him for including in the benefits of his chantry, founded at the All Saints' altar in York Minster, Henry IV and Cardinal Beaufort. Kemp's figure was represented because he occupied the see of York when the window was finished.

The date of the window is a matter of some difficulty. Henry VI is represented beardless, so the date must be not too late in his reign. Further, Langley's will makes no mention of the window, which would therefore appear to be earlier in date than his death in 1437. On the other hand, Kemp's Cardinal's hat appears in the panel of his figure, and he did not become a cardinal until the year 1443.

Whereas more than half of the St. William window is devoted to representations of the miracles attributed to the saint, so much was known about the life of St. Cuthbert, and so heroic, simple, and pathetic are most parts of the story, that the designers of the window were able to fill all except two of the panels without having recourse to miracles worked after his death. One panel (middle of top row) shows miracles at his first tomb in Farne Island, and another (fifth of top row) miracles at his shrine in Durham Cathedral. There are, of course, representations of wonderful works attributed to the saint during his lifetime, such as (1) his horse finding bread (fourth row above first horizontal division, fourth light), (2) the loss and the restoration of the psalter (first row, fifth light, and second row, first light), (3) dividing a fish with the eagle which has caught it (seventh row, middle light), (4) the submission of the crows (tenth row, fourth light), (5) the healing of Hildmer by means of a piece of bread (thirteenth row, middle light), and (6) turning water into wine (fourteenth row, fifth light).

The story of St. Cuthbert's life is skilfully told in picture. His birth about ten years after King Edwin

was baptised at York (first row, first panel) was followed by his baptism (second panel) by a bishop who adopted him, his learning of the psalter (fourth light) and its loss, and his being commended to the care of St. Columba at Dunkeld (second row, fifth light). Further scenes of his boyhood include the well-known story of him as a child playing with other children, but while as they all stood on their heads their clothes fell down over their bodies from the waist, St. Cuthbert's clothes stood upright (third row, second light). From this time the boy forsook boyish games for serious study. A kind stranger who came to his rescue when he had injured his knee appeared to him to be none other than an angel (third row, fifth light). The event that finally decided his career was his vision one night, as he was praying in the fields, of the death of St. Aidan (fourth row, first light). He set off for Melrose (third light), his horse finding bread on the way (fourth light), arriving there to be welcomed by Abbot Eata (fifth row, second light). After some time spent there, he was appointed guest-master of the daughter monastery at Ripon, where he entertained an angel unawares (third light). In accordance with the prophecy of Boisil (fourth light), he received his first important position when he was elected Provost of Melrose (fifth light). Events connected with his life at Melrose and fragments occupy the next three rows, and in the ninth row he is seen (second light) delivering the monastic Institutes as Provost of Lindisfarne on his arrival there—probably a new rule of life. After driving out demons (fifth light), he began (tenth row, first light) to build himself a cell, and followed up this by erecting a cabin in a hollow place in the rock; and when his assistants had failed to bring him a beam of a certain length, the sea washed up one for his use (fifth light). A new stage in his life was begun when the Abbess Aelfled, daughter of King Oswy, who had been cured by means of a girdle which St. Cuthbert sent to her (eleventh row, middle light), had an interview with him (fifth light) on Coquet Island, to which he had

sailed for the purpose (fourth light), and sounded him as to whether he would accede to the request of her brother, King Ecgfrith, that he should become Bishop of Lindisfarne. As a result, doubtless unwillingly enough, he was consecrated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (twelfth row, second light), and invested by King Ecgfrith (first light) in the year 685. Miracles were performed by the new bishop, who was not, however, to live much longer. He made his last journey to Farne (fifteenth row, first light), and, feeling the end approaching, bade farewell to his diocese, and awaited the last summons (fourth light). After being tormented by demons (fifth light), he passed away, "fortified by the Communion of the Body and Blood of our Lord" (top row, first light). He was buried at Lindisfarne (second light), and at his tomb many miracles were performed (middle light). The incursions of the Northmen caused the monks of Lindisfarne to exhume his body, which they found to be uncorrupted. Into the coffin they placed the head of St. Oswald (though it was not till the end of the thirteenth century that St. Cuthbert began to be represented as holding the head of St. Oswald), and after seven years of wandering from place to place, a settlement for just over a century at Chester-le-Street, and a second migration for a short time, the body was placed in a shrine (fifth row) and translated to the predecessor of the present cathedral of Durham, September 4, 999. At the Reformation the shrine was destroyed and the body reverently buried behind the high altar, so that Durham Cathedral may well look back for her beginnings to Lindisfarne.

The tracery lights are filled with modern glass, inserted when the whole of the glass in the lights was removed, restored, and rearranged by Canon Fowler and Mr. Knowles. The following are represented:

(1) *Lowest row.*—St. Paulinus, St. James the Deacon (who remained in the north when St. Paulinus fled south), King Edwin, St. Etheldreda, St. Cuthbert,

King Oswald, St. Hilda, St. John of Beverley, King Edward the Confessor, and St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) *Second row.*—Bede, Gregory the Great, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Jerome, St. Katherine.

THE DRAGON GIVES POWER TO THE BEAST.
(East Window, York Minster.)

(3) *Topmost row.*—Our Lord enthroned between two angels.

Some of these tracery figures were seen by Torre, who does not, however, name them. Their names may be guessed from his description. In this sense the new glass reproduces the old.

While the St. William window is an almost complete guide to the dress, manners, and customs of the fifteenth century, from which the earliest of the subject-matter is removed by only about two and a half centuries, we do not find the same guidance in the St. Cuthbert window, which describes events that happened seven and a half centuries earlier than the time when the glass was inserted. At the same time, many examples of medieval dress, such as armour, boots, gloves, leggings, girdles, tunics, and surplices, are to be seen. The window is concerned far more than its twin with the open air and the sea. The cow, the dog, and the otter amongst animals; rafts, rocks, and boats amongst objects of the sea-coast; and flowers, birds, and the sowing of corn amongst out-of-door objects and scenes; with books, orphreys, and a pulpit amongst ecclesiastical things—these make the window as a commentary on contemporary life only second in value to the St. William window.

The impression gained by a study of the window is that of the life of a singularly pure and holy man who actually lived, and who carries with this record his own conviction and his worthiness of the position that he occupies in the list of saints. A greater proportion of the window than is the case with the sister window opposite deals with the life of the saint, and a smaller proportion with the miracles attributed to him. This is probably due to the manuscripts which each glass-painter took as his authority. In design, the panels of the St. Cuthbert window are not so satisfactory as those of the St. William window. They are thinner in colour, and the figures in the groups are smaller and less prominent. Each, however, is a typical example of the treatment of a large window-space in the first half of the fifteenth century, and is a masterpiece of its kind.

The East Window

Those whose respect for the truth restrains them from speaking in superlatives need have no fears when

applying the highest epithets to the east window of York Minster, which is not only the masterpiece of John Thornton, but certainly the most wonderful window in this country and one of the most remarkable in the world. In mere size, nearly 1,700 square feet of glass, it is exceeded by the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, which, if not quite so high, is broader. But in every other way the giant of York surpasses the other giant of Gloucester. Every panel is filled with coloured glass; the glazing of a window which is filled mainly with groups is a far greater achievement than if the panels are all filled with single figures; the colouring at York is far more varied and brilliant than at Gloucester; and the whole conception, as revealed by the subject-matter, of the Alpha and Omega, and of the beginning and the end of time, is far grander than that which the Gloucester craftsman had in mind.

The foundation-stone of the east wall of York Minster was laid in the year 1361. According to the oft-quoted indenture,[1] the work on the window was begun in December 1405, by which time the stonework of the whole of the eastern arm was complete, the work on the lantern tower had been begun, and much progress had been made with the glazing of the eastern arm. It is interesting to inquire whether the window-space was cut and filled with plain glass when the east wall was built, say, between 1361 and 1365. There are many examples of Perpendicular window-spaces being cut into walls of earlier date. The tracery of the East Window at York is of well-developed Perpendicular style, and gives the impression that it is not as early as the wall into which the window fits. Indeed, in works of this kind, the completion of the east wall was often delayed to allow for the free entry of building materials. Yet, even if the designers of the wall did not prepare the stonework of the window at the time when the wall was built, they must have provided the

[1] Given in full in an English translation at the end of this chapter.

extra supports in the way of buttresses which a large window needs over and above those ordinarily necessary for a wall that contains a greater proportion of stonework than the east wall of York Minster. There is nothing to be said against the supposition that the window was, if not an afterthought, an addition to the original design of the wall.

The advent of very large windows gave rise to a new style in glazing, that of filling the lights of windows with square panels each representing an incident in some great subject. This method would have been possible with the windows of the chapter-house, but the glass-painter was under the influence of grisaille and of the medallion. It was left for the period succeeding the Decorated to evolve another method of filling long and narrow lights with coloured glass, and the east window of York Minster is one of the earliest examples of the new style, which persisted for over a century.

It is difficult for anyone who knows the east window at York to connect John Thornton with the window at the north end of St. Mary's Hall at Coventry. Not only is the Coventry window much smaller than the east window at York, and its subject-matter far less intricate, but it has been restored twice, once in 1795 and again in 1893 ; and these successive restorations have destroyed much of the original character of the window. The east window at York remains therefore the only window which establishes John Thornton's claim to be amongst the world's greatest craftsmen in painted glass. The Coventry window does not affect the claim one way or the other ; it is interesting merely as the only other example that has passed, however uncertainly, for his work.

In modern times no literary work on a large scale dealing with the east window has been attempted. Every writer on York Minster from Torre's time to the time of the writers of modern popular guide-books has taken greater or less notice of the window. Readings

HEAD OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
EAST WINDOW.
YORK MINSTER.

ST. AMBROSE.
Y.P.S. MUSEUM, YORK
(FORMERLY IN ST. CRUX CHURCH).
[*Photographs by William Watson.*

facing p. 120.

of its contents have often been made. Engravings, coloured and plain, of various dates, can frequently be seen for sale in second-hand shops in York. Most of these possess neither artistic merit nor truthfulness. Beyond an occasional reproduction of a panel to illustrate a work on stained glass,[1] not many accurate reproductions of the panels of this great window exist. The St. William and the St. Cuthbert windows were completely photographed in separate panels when they were last restored. The present scheme of preservation embraces the photographing of each panel before it is replaced. The east window has never been photographed in the same detail, and it is not to be removed as part of the present scheme, as it was cleaned, and backed with a screen of plain quarries, in the year 1910.

Of written accounts of the window, besides those general ones that have been referred to, there are two. One is that of Torre, whose account is detailed, but has its limitations. The following is an extract from his description of panel No. 219 :

" In 9th light stands an angel habited B glory *ar.* crowned and winged *or* with a golden key in one hand opening something (like a Trunk) which lies before him."

The " something (like a Trunk) " is really the pit of Rev. xx. 3. Throughout his description, Torre made no attempt to identify the groups and scenes.

Sixty years later than James Torre came Thomas Gent, whose book, *The Most Delectable, Scriptural and Pious History of the Famous and Magnificent Great East Window (according to Beautiful Portraitures) in St. Peter's Cathedral, York*, printed by Gent himself in the year 1762, when he was seventy years of age, a rare enough book, profusely illustrated with small woodcuts, is a much more valuable description than Torre's, because the author attempts to connect the scenes with the text. Its chief value, however, is that it settles the order of most of the panels as they were in

[1] As in Westlake's *History of Design on Painted Glass*, vol. iii, p. 75.

the year 1762. Apart from the tracery lights, which consist of representations of single figures and are not important in the scheme of the window, all the present panels of the main lights, 117 in number arranged in thirteen rows, can be traced in Gent's description except about ten. His method of dealing with each panel is to number it, quote two or three lines describing its subject, give the Greek, Latin, and English versions of the reference in the Apocalypse, and then quote a number of scriptural texts which bear on it. The verses are apparently original, for Gent possessed certain literary powers. For example, his couplet on the panel which represents St. John weeping runs :

> " ANGEL proclaims. St. JOHN'S forbid to weep,
> Tho' Torrents seem'd beyond his Pow'r to keep."

And on Absalom's hanging in the oak tree :

> " Hard-hearted BROTHER, and unnat'ral SON,
> Curs'd on the Tree, late friends and beauty flown ;
> Entangling Hair soon brought ill-fated Doom :
> O ABSALOM ! rebellious ABSALOM ! "

Starting then with Torre and Gent, who between them show that there has been little, if any, alteration, in the order of the panels since the seventeenth century, we come to the study of the window with the added knowledge that if there are no photographs of the separate panels, there are, in the Dean and Chapter Library, a number of pen-and-ink sketches on cardboard, each about 3 inches square, and therefore on a scale of an inch to a foot, of the panels which compose the lights below the tracery. All are there except the seventh panel from the left in the row next below the gallery. They were drawn by a member of the famous Camidge family, other members of which, from father to son, occupied the position of organist of York Minster successively for over a century. Many of them are not complete, containing only the outlines of parts of the principal figures, but they are a very valuable addition

to our knowledge of the window, and they make it possible for the fragmentary panels to be identified. They deserve to be more widely known than they are.

Of the panels as they are at present, all except two or three are plain to read. With a copy of the Bible, a pair of good glasses, plenty of time, and much patience, most of the panels, each of which is a yard square, though apparently much smaller, can be connected with the Old and New Testament scenes which they depict. The subjects of those that are fragmentary can be supplied from Torre or Gent, or from Camidge's sketches. As a result, this window is one of the most satisfactory for the beginner to study, for all the scenes represented in it are more or less familiar to everybody. An interesting table can be made out, taking the original order as its basis, which shows exactly how much alteration has taken place since the window was first inserted. Torre's order is not the correct order. There must have been some displacement probably during the seventeenth century, though not so much as in the St. Cuthbert window. Very little rearrangement took place between Torre's time and the year 1762, as has already been pointed out, and the present order of the panels is virtually as it was left after the disturbance of the original and correct order before Torre wrote. The conclusion is that if the window has been removed since the end of the seventeenth century, which hardly seems likely, the panels were replaced as they were taken out. It would be advisable, if at some future date the panels are removed wholesale for preservation, that they should be rearranged in their correct order, which is the Scriptural order.

The tracery contains 109 figures, all described by Torre and 81 of them named by Gent. At the summit of the window is the figure of God the Father, who holds an open book on which is written: *Ego sum Alpha et Omega*. This is the subject-matter of the window—the Beginning and the End of things created. There was

no change of mind on the part of the glass-painter. He did not begin, as some have thought, with scenes from the Old Testament in the three upper rows of the lights, and then abruptly alter his plan and fill nearly all the remainder of the window, twelve rows out of thirteen, with the finest pictorial representation of the Apocalpyse. From the first he set out to unfold the drama of the will of God for man—a worthy aim for the decoration of the finest pictorial window in this country, if not in the world. So he shows us, at the summit, the figure of God the Father, and the book which proclaims, in five short words, His will for man. Below Him are ranged the figures of all sorts and conditions of men and women, who, now glorified, surround Him in Heaven. They embrace Old Testament characters from Noah to Solomon, writers from Isaiah to Daniel, including the Minor Prophets, the Apostles, some of the Early Fathers of the Church, well-known saints like St. Lawrence and St. Christopher, Saxon heroes and the early founders of Christianity in the North, and Virgin Martyrs. Many can still be identified by the scrolls which they carry or by their emblems.

The three rows of square panels above the gallery contain representations of Old Testament scenes from the Creation of the World to the death of Absalom. Each vertical group of three is arranged under a low canopy which fills the heads of the lights. In their order these scenes are :

First Row.—(1) to (6), The first six days of the Creation of the World ; (7) the Worship on the Seventh Day ; (8) the Fall, the serpent having a human head ; (9) the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden.

Second Row.—(1) The Murder of Abel ; (2) the Procession from the Ark ; (3) the Tower of Babel ; (4) the Meeting of Melchisedek and Abraham ; (5) Jacob obtaining Esau's Blessing ; (6) Jacob's Ladder ; (7) the Shame of Noah ; (8) Joseph revealing himself to his Brethren ; (9) Jacob blessing his Sons.

OUR LORD APPEARING TO AN ARCHBISHOP.

SOUTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

No. 7 ought to come after No. 2.

Third Row.—(1) The Finding of Moses; (2) Moses at the Burning Bush; (3) Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh; (4) the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea; (5) Moses receiving the Law; (6) the Brazen Serpent; (7) the Death of Samson; (8) David and Goliath; (9) the Death of Absalom.

The only two of the Creation panels that show the complete figure of God are the first and the seventh. The other five display only His right hand, generally with rays of glory proceeding from it. The sun and the moon in the fourth panel are given faces, the latter being the face of "the man in the moon." Generally an angel is present. The figure of Adam is suspended obliquely in mid-air as he proceeds from the hand of the Father. On the seventh day Adam is seen worshipping God in company with the animals and birds. The "apple" scene shows Adam eating an apple, and receiving another from Eve, who with the other hand plucks a third apple. In the sides of the panels of the even-numbered lights are two figures in flowing robes and sugar-loaf hats. In the next row, Cain kills Abel with a heavy club; the Tower of Babel has Perpendicular buttresses and battlements; Abraham as he meets Melchisedek wears a plate helmet and a chain hauberk; Isaac as he blesses Jacob, and Jacob as he blesses his sons, are both in bed with nothing on but a nightcap; and Joseph as he meets his brethren has a moustache and they look very shamefaced. In the third row, Moses as a child is wrapped up in swaddling-clothes; the figure of God appears out of the Burning Bush and is crowned, as Moses receives the Law from Him; a cripple suffering from having been bitten by a real serpent looks up at the Brazen Serpent; Samson's sightless eyes are quite obvious to the observer; Goliath is dressed in a suit of early fifteenth-century armour, partly chain-mail and partly plate; while a hand appears over the head of David to bless his enterprise, and the body of Absalom, who wears rowel

spurs, is pierced through with several arrows. The Old Testament scenes in these three rows are indeed realistic.

The panels from the gallery downwards, but excluding the lowest row, are filled with representations of scenes from the Apocalypse. As with the Old Testament scenes, these must be read from the top. While only one of the latter is displaced, no fewer than twenty-four of the total number of eighty-one of these panels have been disturbed from their original order. The following are the panels: the whole of the second row from the gallery, the first five and the last in the third row, numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 in the fourth row, and the third and the fifth in the sixth and seventh rows. Only nine of these are not in their correct row. Each misplaced pair in the sixth and seventh rows needs a simple exchange of the same numbers to make the order correct. This mistake may have been made when the window was first inserted. It will be seen, therefore, that the unquestionable rearrangement concerns only the inner three rows of the middle group of the three into which the window is divided horizontally by the gallery and a transom. It would be a simple matter to replace the panels in their correct order if the window is ever to be removed.

In the first panel the Emperor Domitian wears a triple crown. St. John is in a cauldron which is being heated by a fire underneath, while his tormentors hold heating irons. The small ship in which he sails to Patmos has a simple mast and one sail, which is full blown with the wind. The prow of the ship is vertical, and is crowned with a handsome square battlemented top. The saint sits in the stern with arms crossed. In every panel in which groups of elders appear, some of them are tonsured, and Torre frequently refers to them as monks. Indeed, Thornton doubtless regarded them in some such light. The seven stars appear behind the seven golden candlesticks on the altar, and rays of glory emanate from the hand of the Son of

Man. The model of the church in the next light contains four panels on each of the longer sides and three on each of the shorter sides. On each panel there is represented the figure of a mitred bishop. The sealing of the 144,000 is done by means of a hammer which contains at one end of its head the seal. The trumpets of the angels are long and thin, and open out at the end. Each trumpet is made to sound only one note. Abaddon and his host are in armour of the mixed chain-and-plate variety common at the end of the fourteenth century. The seven thunders proceed like streams out of the mouths of seven mild-looking men, while St. John begins to eat the Book. The various buildings, like the Tower of Babel, are battlemented in the style of the period to which the window belongs; each gateway has a portcullis, and the tracery of the windows is in the Early Perpendicular style. The dragon and the beast with the seven heads are terrible red-and-brown creatures with long flowing tails. Babylon is a walled city of gable-ends and towers, probably like York in the Middle Ages, which would be in the artist's mind. The beast that makes war on the saints, who include in their number a mitred bishop, has a claw on one saint, whom he is about to trample under foot. The army of Heaven is led by One on horseback out of Whose mouth proceeds a sword, and Whose robe proclaims him to be *Rex Regum, Dominus Dominorum.* The dead as they arise, some crowned and others wearing the tiara, are represented in various grotesque and active attitudes as they proceed to the judgment of the *Liber Vitæ*, which, however, pronounces some of them, whether crowned or in the tiara, lost. Over the Holy City, out of which proceeds the River of Life, reigns the One Whose book announces: *Ego sum Alpha et Omega.* He appears again in the last panel, which represents the saint writing the book, and again He displays the book and the motto. The window therefore ends, except for the lowest row, on the note on which it commences at the summit.

The nine panels in the lowest row are glazed with representations of ecclesiastics and kings, and with a quite considerable display of small heraldic shields. Many of the figures and some of the shields are mutilated, and Torre, who is not so vague and inconsequent as usual, helps to establish the identity of some of the persons, while Gent has recourse to his imagination throughout and does not mention the shields.

Nothing but a brief statement of the contents of these panels is possible. They are as follows:

First Light.—Our Lord in the act of blessing, Pope Celestine, and St. William. Below, the arms of the province of York, and the same impaling the arms of St. William.

Second Light.—Lucius (in the centre) and two other British kings, one of whom was probably St. Oswald. Below, the arms of Warenne (*checky or and az.*) and the arms attributed to King Oswald (*az. three crowns in pale or*).

Third Light.—King Edwin, who holds a church, and two other kings. Below, three coats-of-arms: the see of York (mutilated), St. George (but the cross is coloured dark pink instead of red), and a mutilated shield which cannot be identified.

Fourth Light.—Edward the Confessor, William (probably the Conqueror), and Edward (probably the Third). Edward the Confessor holds the ring. Below, the following coats-of-arms: Edward the Confessor, England, and England and France quartered, with the *fleurs-de-lis* reduced to three. This is a very early example of the change from the powdered *fleurs-de-lis*.

Middle Light.—An archbishop or bishop at an altar on which is a missal and above which are the figures of a pope and St. William. The figure may represent Bowet, who became archbishop just before the window was finished. On the altar frontal, however, are the arms of Walter Skirlaw, Prebendary of Fenton and Archdeacon of the East Riding, who became Bishop of Durham in the year 1388.

Sixth Light.—Pope Eleutherius (in the centre) and two archbishops, whom Gent identified probably incorrectly as Aidan and Justus. The former was never an archbishop. Below, the following shields-of-arms: the see of York, *az. three roundels or* (for St. Wilfrid?), and these two impaled (for St. Wilfrid as bishop).

Seventh Light.—St. Paulinus, St. Gregory the Pope, and St. Wilfrid. Below, the following shields-of-arms: the province impaling the see of York, Skirlaw, and St. Wilfrid impaling the see of York.

Eighth Light.—St. John of Beverley, Pope Calixtus, and a bishop. Below: (1) England and France quartered, again with the *fleurs-de-lis* reduced to three; (2) *az. three crowns or* 2 and 1 for King Oswald; (3) barry of six *or and az. three roundels gu. with centre or* for Greystoke.

Ninth Light.—King Ebraucus, the fabled founder of Eboracum, with a figure on each side of him.

While the figures are intended to represent certain dignified persons in Church and State who were connected with York, and are interesting merely as a list of such of them as were deemed fit to occupy a place in a great window, the heraldry is of much greater interest. Some of the shields are those of the people represented immediately above them.

INDENTURE

Indenture between the Dean and Chapter of York and John Thornton of Coventry, glazier, for the glazing of the great window in the east gable of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of York, which he shall complete within three years from the beginning of the said work. He shall portray the said window with his own hand, and the histories, images and other things to be painted on the same. He shall also paint the same as necessary, according to the ordinance of the Dean and Chapter. And he shall also provide glass and lead and the workmen, at the expense of the Dean and Chapter, in the same manner as he would have done if the like had to be done at his own costs and charges, whereunto he shall take his oath. And the said John shall receive of the Dean and Chapter for every week wherein he shall work at his art during the said three years four shillings, and each year of the same three years five pounds sterling, and after the work is completed ten pounds. Given at York, etc., on the 10th day of December, 1405.

CHAPTER VII

PARISH CHURCHES: FIRST GROUP

ST. OLAVE—ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET—ST. HELEN—ST. MICHAEL-LE-BELFREY—HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE—ST. SAMPSON

ST. OLAVE

Only the east window of St. Olave's Church still possesses any of its original glass; but in spite of its being in many places fragmentary and lacking in colour the window is worth seeing. All the tracery lights except the four which continue upwards the middle light are modern restorations in the spirit and tradition of the old glass in the window. The four old compartments contain at the heads shallow canopies. In the left-hand panel of the upper pair kneels St. Gabriel the Archangel, with scroll, *Ave Maria*; but his companion in the next panel, in spite of the margin of blue cloak outside the white robe, appears from the fragment of a wing that still survives to be another angel, and is kneeling with face and body looking away from the Archangel. The figure of the Virgin has been transferred to the right-hand panel immediately above the middle light, where she is seen, having just risen from a handsome gilt chair, in a long white robe edged with gilt looking towards the figure on the left, in the next panel, which looks back at her. Both these panels show the lily in a pot or vase. Surmise in these cases is rarely profitable, but the figure of the Archangel and that of the Virgin ought to be in the same row. The ways of restorers are past finding out.

The five lights display large figures of saints, one in

each light, under lofty Perpendicular octagonal or hexagonal canopies, of the middle of the fifteenth century. Neither they nor the shafts which support them contain small figures. They stand against backgrounds of red and blue alternately, and the backgrounds of the large figures under them are not counterchanged, but are the same. The ruby colour is very good ; the blue is somewhat weak. The robes of all the five figures are mutilated, and the identity of some of them is uncertain. The only ones that can be named are St. Dunstan, in the second light, who holds a hammer, and perhaps St. Olave, the patron saint. Under the figure in the fifth light are three small figures and part of a pallium. The lights have no borders.

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET

The medieval stained glass in St. Martin's Church is found in the second, third, and fourth windows from the east in the south wall, in the west window, and in five out of the six clerestory windows on the north side, and in the borders of the sixth. It is a very fortunate circumstance that so much of the old glass has been spared. Originally, every window in the church would be glazed with old stained glass. Mr. Thomas Gent, who has been referred to above, records that in the year 1722 the east window, which illustrated the life of Athanasius and the Athanasian Creed, was taken to the Minster. There is no trace of it in the Minster glass now ; and what took its place we do not know. The present east window was inserted in the year 1872 ; and nobody who has any appreciation of design and colour in glass can pretend to admire it. Gent tells us also that the east window of the north aisle—the window to the left of the east window as the observer faces the altar—contained in his time old glass representing Christ in Agony, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a figure of St. George, and the arms of the Percy family. The east window of the

south aisle showed a prisoner before a king, the departure of a bishop, and a prince relieving the poor. All the windows of the south aisle contained old stained glass, but the only subjects that were clear were a Holy Family, the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, a figure of St. Martin, and two figures holding portions of St. Martin's cloak. The westernmost window in the clerestory on the north side, which no longer has any old glass, had, as late as the year 1846, the remains of a figure of St. Mary Magdalene. There is no record of the old glass that would doubtless be in the clerestory windows on the south side and in the west windows of the north and south aisles. Nearly half of the original glass of the church, however, remains in nine windows out of the total number of twenty-three.

Drake, who was writing his History of York soon after Gent wrote, gives the following inscriptions (in Latin) that " are or were " in the windows :

(1) " Pray for the souls of John Kyrkeby and Joanna, his wife, and for the souls of their children."

(2) " Pray for the souls of Alan Hyll, William Bolton and Agnes . . ."

(3) " Pray for the souls of Dominus Robert Semer, formerly Minister of this Church and Chamberlain of the Chapter of York, who . . . and erected this work on the fourth day of the month of October, 1437. On whose soul may God have mercy."

Fragments of this last inscription are still found in the west window. The first two were in the clerestory windows, probably those on the north side.

Drake also gives amongst the contents of the windows several shields-of-arms, most of which have disappeared.

The old glass in the church will now be described.

The South Aisle

The three windows that contain ancient glass are all fragmentary, the glass in them having been assembled there in the year 1855. While some of the glass is of the same date as the present church, which belongs

SOUTH AISLE.

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.

facing p. 132. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, some of it is of the Decorated period (the first half of the fourteenth century), and came from an earlier church on the site.

Second from the East

At the top, in the tracery, a beautiful representation of the Blessed Trinity, with the figure of God the Father (blessing His people), God the Son (on the Cross), and God the Holy Ghost (in the form of a Dove which whispers into the ear of the Father). Below, in the lower compartments of the tracery, four saints, and our Lord (in the second from the right) and the Blessed Virgin Mary (in the second from the left), doubtless representing the Coronation of the Virgin. In the first light, a fragment of a canopy containing what is probably the figure of God the Father, the only figure remaining of the three which represented the Persons of the Blessed Trinity; below, a family group of St. Joachim, St. Anne, and their daughter, the Blessed Virgin Mary, with our Lord as a child, Who is always found in this group. The probability is that this family group was originally in the Lady Chapel of the Church, at the east end of the north aisle. In the middle light a horned beast above a lady praying, and the words "O Almighty God"; below, a head and fragments; below these, the shield of Sir Richard Yorke, Lord Mayor of York in 1469 and 1482, who died in 1498, and was buried in St. John's Church, York. In the third light, a canopy similar to that in the first light; below, our Lord and the Dove, the only remaining part of a group representing the Holy Trinity; notice the Five Sacred Wounds and the Crown of Thorns.

The glass in all three lights is set in a border of long green leaves on a black ground of more modern date than the other glass in the window, probably 1872, when the church was restored.

Third from the East

In the tracery at the top, an eagle, set in fragments. Below, a row of four saints, none of whom can be

identified, with two martens. The name "marten" is applied to a small animal as well as to a bird; and the old craftsman, here as once more (in the next window going westwards), is playing on the name of the patron saint of the church. In the first light, the shield of St. Peter (not that St. Peter, or anybody before the thirteenth century, had a shield-of-arms, but the medieval artist used the emblems of the saints and put them on shields, giving the whole certain colours which afterwards were generally adopted); in the middle, a design of four leaves; below, a mutilated shield. In the middle light, a fragment of a canopy, and a very fine figure of St. George in early fifteenth-century plate armour with curious wide sleeves, and the shield of St. George (who, again, never had a shield-of-arms, but whose cross is familiar enough as the groundwork of the Union Jack): St. George is represented killing the dragon. In the third light, the shield of England before the year 1340, the year in which King Edward III, as claimant of the crown of France, began to quarter the royal arms with the royal arms of France; in the middle, another design of four leaves; below, another mutilated shield.

The blue borders of the six medallions that contain the shields and the leaf-patterns in the first and second windows are of comparatively modern date. The fragments that fill the first and third lights are medieval.

Fourth from the East

At the top, in the tracery, a figure of Christ blessing. Below, a row of figures, some of which are of angels, and one of an archangel. In the fifth compartment there is a fragment of a Decorated canopy. In the first light, several heads, including those of two kings and other fragments, and the figure of a marten. In the middle light, the figure of St. Barbara holding a palm-branch and a tower (the letters " . . . bara " can be read below); below, a shield consisting of a red cross on a white ground.

FOUR DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

NORTH SIDE OF CLERESTORY.

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.

facing p. 134. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

In the third light, part of the figure of a king, above whose head are the word " Magnificamus " (" we magnify ") and many fragments.

In all the old windows in this aisle are fragments of inscriptions, mostly of black letters on a white ground (and therefore of the Perpendicular period), though a few are of yellow letters on a black ground (and therefore of the Decorated period), out of which nothing can be made that throws light on the original contents of these windows.

The Clerestory, North Side

The large figures are arranged against a background of plain glass in " quarries," that is, four-sided pieces of glass leaded together and arranged so as to stand on one of their sharper angles. There are, therefore, no canopies above these figures. This style of glazing was common from about the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, and may be seen in the east aisles of both transepts of the Minster and in the windows of the south aisle of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church. Below these large figures, in three of the windows, are groups of smaller figures of donors, similar groups to which can be seen in St. John's Church and in St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church.

The windows will be read, as before, from left to right as the observer faces them.

First from the East

(*a*) St. Christopher, holding the Holy Child on his shoulder; (*b*) and (*c*) the Annunciation, occupying two lights, and with the inscription: *Ave Maria gracia plena Dominus tecum* (" Hail, Mary, full of grace! The Lord is with thee ")—notice the lily and the Dove; (*d*) in the fourth light, St. George.

Below, groups of donors.

The Latin inscription which runs along the foot of this window is only fragmentary. Originally it bade the faithful pray for the souls of . . . Scaus . . . Sheriff

of York . . . and for the souls of his wife and children. Thomas Scausby was Sheriff in 1447.

The Guild of St. Christopher, founded at the end of the fourteenth century, had its hall in the parish, and its chapel on the site of the present Mansion House, which was built when the chapel and other buildings near were demolished in the year 1726. The old hall gave place in the year 1446 to the present Guildhall, which was built by the Guild of St. Christopher and the Mayor and the Commonalty of York. The connection between the Trade Guilds and the City authorities was a close one. In the year in which the Guildhall was built, the Guild of St. George was united to that of St. Christopher. The figures of St. Christopher and St. George in this window are thus explained.

Second from the East

(*a*) St. Barbara, holding a sword, a palm branch, and a tower; (*b*) St. Katherine, holding a sword and a wheel, the emblems of her suffering for the faith; (*c*) an ecclesiastic (said by Gent to be the figure of St. Hilary of Poitiers, who baptised St. Martin); and (*d*) St. Denys, holding his head, as he was martyred by being beheaded.

The inscription along the foot of this window is so badly mutilated that the only portion of it that can be made out, beyond the usual appeal to pray for the souls of the donors, makes it clear that they gave of their goods to the church during their lives.

Third from the East

The four Evangelists, all named and carrying their emblems, an angel, a winged lion, a winged ox, and an eagle. Below, groups of donors, both men and women.

There is no inscription left at the foot of this window, though originally there must have been one.

Fourth from the East

At the heads of the lights, the prophets Daniel (in the den of lions), Ezekiel (crucified, nailed, and tied),

ST. CHRISTOPHER. ST. GABRIEL. THE B. V. M. ST. GEORGE.

NORTH SIDE OF CLERESTORY.

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.

facing p. 136. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

Jeremiah (being stoned), and Isaiah (upside-down, being sawn asunder). The large figures are those of the four Latin Fathers: (*a*) a bishop (St. Ambrose of Milan); (*b*) another bishop (St. Augustine of Hippo); (*c*) St. Jerome (in his cardinal's hat); and (*d*) St. Gregory the Great.

Below, groups of donors.

The inscription at the foot of the window was originally to the effect that "Mark . . . gave this window"; but there are also portions of another inscription about "being born, dying, rising, he ascends, so it is written" —a kind of paraphrase of the Apostle's Creed.

Amongst the groups of donors are several ladies, whose hats are of the fifteenth-century "horned" variety.

Fifth from the East

At the top (*a*) the shield of St. William of York; (*b*) a shield found on the counter-seal of Archbishop Waldby (Archbishop of York, 1397–8); (*c*) a meaningless shield with a plain cross on it; and (*d*) the arms of England quartered (incorrectly) with those of France. The second and third lights contain figures of a bishop, mitred and coped, and an archbishop, with pallium, said by Gent to have been the figure of Archbishop Kemp, who occupied the see from 1425 to 1452. The first light, according to Gent, had the figure of St. John of Beverley. This figure, and that in the fourth light, have disappeared within the last century. At the foot of the third and fourth lights are the arms of the cities of London and York.

The inscription below is most disappointing. The only letters on it that give any clue to the original contents of the window are: "-cs Jo" (for "Scs. Johannes," "St. John" (of Beverley)).

The borders consist mostly of crowns and other devices.

In the remaining window the borders are of old glass.

The West Window

The greatest treasure of its kind, however, that this church possesses is the west window, a window of which any church—parish church or cathedral—might be proud. The window was the gift of Robert Semer, Vicar of the church, who kneels near the foot to the middle light, vested in almuce (a tippet with collar and hood), surplice, and choir cope. Drake seemed to have no doubt as to the date when the window was inserted. The inscription under the lowest groups in the first, second, fourth, and fifth lights is fragmentary; however, its general sense can still be made out, and the letters xxxvii (for the last two digits in a date) probably give the clue to the date 1437 as the date of the insertion of the glass. There is no record of Semer's death that has so far come to light. He was alive in 1440, when he is amongst those who received bequests under a will. His will was proved on June 7, 1443. His successor at St. Martin's was in office eight days later. The word "senex" can be made out in the inscription in the window. It is a reasonable inference that the window was glazed when Semer was an old man and six years before his death in 1443. A namesake of his was a Vicar-Choral of the Minster, and died in the year 1432.

The general subject of the window is the life of St. Martin, the patron saint of the church. The story of his life is told in thirteen panels, three in each of the first, second, fourth, and fifth lights, and one in the middle light. The donor is represented in the middle light, kneeling before a book open at the words (in Latin, as are all the inscriptions in the window): "Have mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great goodness, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies." Above his head is a scroll: "St. Martin, repulse me not nor make me afraid"—or words which appear to mean this. In the lowest two panels of the window are medallions of vine-leaves, the upper set of which originally con-

WEST WINDOW.

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.

EAST WINDOW OF NORTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

facing p. 138.

Photographed by William Watson.

tained inscriptions which cannot now be either fully read or even imagined, and the lower set of which have only "dummy" inscriptions, that is, marks that mean nothing. Every group of figures has, under it, its own inscription; but most of them are so fragmentary that few can be connected with the subjects of the groups above them. Of the tracery figures, only three have inscriptions that at once describe them: "cherub," "angel," and "power." The whole of this set of figures may be classified generally as part of the heavenly host of "angels, archangels, and all the company of Heaven," as the beings with whom the saints join in worship.

The chief figure in the window is that of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, in the middle light. St. Martin lived in the fourth century. He carries his cross-staff, has his right hand raised in blessing, and is in mitre and full Eucharistic vestments—amice, alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, and pallium. The pallium, the strip of white wool with crosses on it, which is worn over the chasuble round the neck and hangs down in front and at the back, as part of his dress, is inserted probably because the glazier thought that St. Martin was Archbishop of Tours, which became an archbishopric early, with a wide jurisdiction over the provinces of the Lower Loire and Brittany.

There is not space to describe in detail the subjects in the lights. They are not in their right order, as there has been some rearrangement of them. The subjects will be described commencing at the top.

First Light

(1) St. Martin in cope and mitre, and carrying his pastoral staff, received by a king, who sits on a throne and is accompanied by a tonsured priest.

(2) A priest (or bishop) at the altar, which has rich hangings, elevating the Host. Above the reredos are two angels. Behind the celebrant is an acolyte who holds a lighted candle on a long standard. Whether

this represents St. Martin as an acolyte or saying his first Mass we cannot be certain.

(3) A group of people standing round a couch on which is the sitting figure of a young girl, whom St. Martin has just raised to life.

Second Light

(1) St. Martin with a group of people behind him, kneeling, with hands together, and with a magnificent crozier over his right shoulder, and looking upwards at the figure of the Holy Dove, in rays of glory, that appears to him in the sky.

(2) St. Martin, holding in his left hand what appears to be an instrument of correction, receiving from her parents a young girl who is turning away from him.

(3) St. Martin, before his ordination, clad in plate armour of the end of the fourteenth century, and holding his helmet, before an army. The glass is rather broken, but the figures of several armed and mail-clad soldiers and of two horses can be made out.

Middle Light

Between the large figure of the saint and that of Robert Semer, St. Martin, fully vested and again wearing the pallium, being consecrated by two other bishops, who are putting the mitre on his head.

Fourth Light

(1) St. Martin, ill in bed, the bed being a handsome one with canopy and rich bedclothes and hangings, two people, one of them clearly a woman, looking on.

(2) St. Martin, again as a soldier clad in plate armour, and with a rich fifteenth-century chaplet round his head, on horseback, throwing his cloak over a beggar, and dividing it with his sword.

(3) St. Martin as a bishop, holding a cross-staff and exorcising a fiend, round the figure of which is a long scroll which originally contained the words which were used by the saint on this occasion. They cannot now be made into anything sensible.

OUR LORD APPEARING TO ST. MARTIN.

WEST WINDOW OF

ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.

facing p. 140. [*Photographed by J. A. Knowles.*

Fifth Light

(1) St. Martin, again on a rich bed with embroidered pillows, and again wearing a chaplet, seeing a vision of our Lord and two angels. Our Lord holds in his left hand the orb and a cross, and blesses St. Martin with his right hand. A jug and a bowl form part of the furniture of the bedroom.

(2) The death of St. Martin. The saint is in bed, wearing his mitre, his head resting on a pillow, and six tonsured priests, one of whom holds an open book, stand by the bed, while another, with a scroll over his head, on which nothing can be read, kneels at the bedside, evidently praying from an open book which he holds. To the right, above the heads of two of the priests, there is a devilish form, typifying the forces of evil from which the saint prays to be delivered.

(3) St. Martin protecting hares from dogs.

Most of these incidents speak for themselves, and are representations of popular stories connected with St. Martin.

The borders and the canopies in the window are of excellent workmanship. Generally, there is a figure of a man in the border on each side of each group. In the borders below the groups are crowns and the initials " R. S." on coloured glass. Each subject panel has its own canopy ; and each light is headed by a very fine canopy of the kind which windows of this period contain, white and slender and pinnacled.

ST. HELEN

Outside this church, which is at the end of Stonegate farthest from the Minster, is a tablet on which are recorded the names of the glass-painters who lived and worked in the parish in the fifteenth century and are buried in the church.[1] Very few examples of their craft remain in the church. The earliest glass is over the west door, the door by which the visitor enters the church. It is Decorated in style, and survives from an

[1] See pp. 67–68.

earlier window-space, the framework being Perpendicular. There is no old glass in the tracery lights. In the main lights are four large figures and, underneath each of them, smaller figures. The heads of the lights are glazed with modern plain glass, as the Decorated gables below them do not fill the lights. Of the four large figures, the robes of them all are absurdly mutilated, especially of the archbishop in the third light, who is given a grotesquely large and misshapen pink chasuble and a long gold staff without a cross. The crowned saint in the first light passes for St. Katherine, perhaps from the fragment of a wheel over her left shoulder; but her identity is doubtful. In the second light King Edward the Confessor holds the ring, and in the fourth light the Blessed Virgin, who wears a tiara, is represented as the Queen of Heaven in rays of glory. The two middle figures in the lower row of subjects have separate canopies with vaulted ceilings, and are now arranged against good ruby backgrounds. They cannot be identified, though one is plainly a woman. Both these figures are Decorated. In the fourth light the group representing the Coronation of the Virgin is spoilt by two patches of blue and red glass. A donor, his wife, and five children, who kneel at the foot of the light, are later insertions. They are in handsome robes of red and blue, and the wife wears a kerchief over her head.

The borders of the window show fragments of irregular heraldic devices such as *fleurs-de-lis*, crowns, knots, and the letters I H S on red and blue grounds.

The remainder of the old glass in the church is of little account. The left-hand light of the east window in the north aisle contains, against a background of plain quarries, the squat figure of a youth, perhaps a Bluecoat boy, dressed in the style of the middle of the eighteenth century, with long hair, suit of handsome blue, and light blue stockings. Nothing is known of the origin of this figure, which belongs to the sphere of domestic, not ecclesiastical, glass. In the correspond-

ing window in the south aisle, in the middle light, is the figure perhaps of a nun. She is dressed in blue and her hood appears to be over her head, but a large piece of yellow glass, an insertion, in the shape of a broad hat, though not a hat, spoils the completeness of the upper part of the figure, which below the waist is fragmentary.

The window behind the organ, at the east end of the north aisle, contains a few fragments of coloured glass, all of comparatively modern date. The arms of the glass-painters (see opposite page 150) are in the upper compartment of the tracery, where a small white shield can be seen which bears the implements of their craft.

The west window of the south aisle contains shields, two panels of different dates, and a modern *fleur-de-lis*. The shields are *azure three chevronels or* (top of first light), *gules a fess or between five crosses or* for Beauchamp (top of third light), Percy quartering Lucy (bottom of third light), and *quarterly* 1 *and* 4 *gules a golden ball* 2 *and* 3 *azure a covered cup or*, for the Goldsmiths' Company.

It is disappointing that the ancient parish church of so many medieval glass-painters is not able to show a better display of their art.

ST. MICHAEL-LE-BELFREY

The present church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey was built between the years 1530 and 1545. There was an earlier church on the site that was built before the end of the twelfth century, though its date cannot be given exactly.

Of the windows in the present church, there is evidence that three in the north wall contained ancient glass, and one in the south wall, in addition to the windows that still retain their old coloured glass. Besides, there was an east window in the south aisle; but this no longer exists. Six windows in the church can still be studied as examples none too numerous of the art and craftsmanship of the glass-painter of the sixteenth century.

Besides being the most prominent window in the church on account of its position, the east window contains the oldest glass in the church that has survived from an earlier church on the site. The glass has come from more than one window, for the following portions of it could never have been in the same window :

(1) The figure in the oval-shaped medallion at the foot of the first light, which is most probably that of St. James, on account of the shell on his hat and on the wallet attached to his staff. The shape of the medallion suggests a date for this panel early in the fourteenth century.

(2) The kneeling figures at the foot of the second and fourth lights, which appear to belong to the end of the fourteenth century.

(3) The five groups of figures under pointed canopies in the second row, which are of the first half of the fourteenth century, and of the same period as the similar panels in the nave of the Minster.

(4) The five canopies above these groups, which were made about the middle of the fourteenth century, and are very much like the canopies in the east window of Wells Cathedral, which was inserted about the year 1340. These five canopies were originally in one and the same window.

When the church was rebuilt, the Decorated glass which it contained was evidently assembled in the east window of the new church, which, in addition to what has already been noticed, contained the following :

(1) At the foot of the fifth light, a donor, who holds the window that he is presenting, only the top half of which has survived.

(2) In the second row, under pointed canopies : (*a*) St. Peter, with a key and a church, and St. Paul, with a sword pointed downwards ; (*b*) the figure of our Lord, His left hand showing the wound, and, to the left, a crown, which originally surmounted a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose coronation as Queen of Heaven the panel represented ; (*c*) the figure of our

EAST WINDOW OF NORTH AISLE.

ST. MICHAEL-LE-BELFREY.

facing p. 144. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

Lord and two angels, possibly a representation of the Resurrection; (*d*) a mutilated group of the Holy Family, showing a fragment of the Holy Child, St. Joseph, and the ass; (*e*) the Annunciation, with the motto: *Ave Maria, gracia plena.*

VISION OF THE SON OF MAN.
(East Window, York Minster.)

(3) In the tracery (the upper portion of the window, above the main lights): (*a*) above the first light, fragments, a figure, and a mutilated shield; (*b*) above the second light, a figure of our Lord, fragments, and the shield of the Latimers, a well-known Yorkshire family of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who probably

subscribed to the building of an earlier church; (*c*) above the middle light, a group of figures, and a saint in a yellow robe, who holds a staff over his left shoulder; and, above these, to the left, St. Michael, who holds a pan of a scale, in which is a demon, and, to the right, a figure whose identity cannot even be guessed; (*d*) above the fourth light, fragments and the shield of the Marmion family, of Tanfield, whose very fine effigies are still to be seen in West Tanfield Church, and whose chantries were celebrated at altars in that church; (*e*) above the fifth light, a saint, some fragments, and the inscription "Jeffery Linton, 1746," which refers to a restoration of the windows of the church in that year, as the same date is found in the glass of the south aisle. The small figures of two censing angels, to the right and left of the centre mullions at the top, and a few other fragments of coloured glass, complete the window.

The east window of the north aisle is hidden from view in part of the church by the organ. It is, however, easy of study because it is possible to stand in front of it and very near to it.

Like the east window, this window consists of glass that has been assembled in it from other, and some of them earlier, windows. Its contents are arranged in three rows: (1) at the top, four groups of donors; (2) in the middle, four figures of saints; and (3) at the foot, four groups.

(1) The donors consist of (*a*) a lady and three daughters, with the motto *Memento mei* ("Remember me"); (*b*) a man and his seven sons, with the fragment of a motto *nobis*, evidently all that is left of the words *Ora pro nobis* ("Pray for us"); (*c*) a man praying, with the words *Sancte Joannes, ora pro nobis* ("St. John, pray for us")—evidently from another window, possibly in the south aisle; and (*d*) three women praying. All these four, except the third, were originally at the foot of one and the same window, and the three that are alike appear to belong to the middle of

the fifteenth century. The third came from another window, and is very probably a little later in date.

(2) The four large figures, which, from their appearance, were originally in four different windows, are of (*a*) St. George, who has his sword in striking position over his shoulders, but whose figure is strangely composite below, with his feet and lower legs bare and his upper legs covered with feathers, showing that his figure is made up of three original figures, one of them that of a cherub; (*b*) St. Christopher, who is carrying the Holy Child (a finely drawn and life-like figure) over the water, which can be seen below; (*c*) St. Ursula, who has an arrow in her breast, emblematic of martyrdom, and with whom are the heads of three children, and the figures of a man and woman in blue; and (*d*) the Blessed Virgin Mary, in robe lined with ermine, part of a representation of the Annunciation, the Holy Dove approaching her above from the left, and the lily, the emblem of her purity, being by her side. These four figures are of late fourteenth-century date, and are arranged in a background of fragments, which extend both above and below them. They were made for lights which were much wider.

(3) The four groups below seem to represent a continuous story of a man and a woman who have committed the sin of adultery. The first shows the man in fetters with two gaolers; and all three of them are villainous-looking. The second represents the man and the woman embracing. These two panels ought to exchange places. In the third, the woman is in the centre of a group, and is being anointed by a bishop, to whom she has confessed her sin. The fourth shows the woman being married by the bishop to a man who is not the man in fetters. All four groups were originally under shallow canopies, fragments of which remain. The story is continued in two panels in the easternmost window in the north wall of the Lady Chapel in York Minster. These six panels probably came from the Netherlands. Their date is clear from the dress of the

lady—not much earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century.

Attention is now directed to the aisles. Originally, the east end of the south aisle contained a stained-glass window, and some people say that the window is still in position, though the space has been built up. This is most improbable.

The Dodsworth MS., a valuable account of York and the country in the seventeenth century, states that in the north aisle of the church there were three stained-glass windows, and that in the south aisle there were six, counting the one on the east wall. The inscriptions that Dodsworth gives may prove of interest.

The inscriptions in the windows in the north aisle were :

(1) " Of your Charity pray for the soul of Christopher Seel, Chanter of the Church of York, and sometime Clerk of the Works : of whose devotion the window was glazed in the yere of our Lord God mccccxxxvii."

(2) "*Orate pro anima mri. Hugonis de Asheton quondam canonici residentiarii ecclesie cathedralis Ebor. cuius devocione hec fenestra vittreata fuit* A.D. *M quingentesimo.*"

(3) " Of your great charity pray for the souls of Martin Sosa, he was some tyme Sheriff of Yorke and goldsmyth, born in Spayne, and Ellen his wyfe, who caused this window to be made of his costes and charges in the yere of our Lord God . . ."

Mr. Christopher Seel is mentioned in the records of the Sub-Chanter and Vicars-Choral several times from the year 1500 to the year 1520.

The second inscription translated into English is : " Pray for the soul of Hugh Ashton, once Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of York, by whose devotion this window was glazed, 15 . ." Hugh Ashton was Prebendary of Strensall in York Minster from 1515 to 1522, and, as his connection with the Minster ceased in the latter year, the presumption is that he died in that year and his executors gave the

window in his memory. His shield-of-arms was in the window.

Martin Sosa was not the only Sheriff of York and goldsmith who was commemorated in the windows of this church, as will be seen when the windows in the south aisle are examined.

Nothing more is known about the windows in the north aisle. They would be glazed in the same style as those in the south aisle, that is, with large single figures set in quarries of white glass. Nor is it known which of the windows in this aisle were coloured.

The following inscriptions were formerly in the windows of the south aisle :

(1) " Of your charity pray for the soules of William Tonson and . . ." This inscription was in the east window of the south aisle.

(2) " Of your charity pray for the soules of Mr. John Elwald, sometyme mayor of this cittye, and Dame Agnes his wief, and for the soules of Mr. Robert Elwald, sometime sheriffe and alderman of the same cittye, and Ellen his wief, who caused this window to be made at his proper costs and chardges in the yere of our Lord God 15 . ." Robert Elwald was Sheriff in 1532.

(3) " Pray for the soules of Mr. John Listar, sometymne sheriffe of Yorke, and his three wifes which . . . A.Dom. mccccxxxv." John Listar was Sheriff in 1526.

(4) " Of your charity pray for the soule of Mr. Thomas Marsar, sometyme clerk of St. Peter's workes, in whose tyme this church was newly erect and builded, and of his devotion caused this window to be glazed with his own costs and chardges. A.Dom. millesimo quingentesimo xxxv " (1535). Thomas Marsar was Sub-Chanter, and became a Canon Residentiary of York Minster.

(5) " Of your charity pray for the soule of Mr. John Coltman, late sub-treasurer of the Churche of Yorke, and clerke of St. Peter's workes . . . of the first stone towards the building this church in the yere of our Lord in mccccxiv." John Coltman was a Canon of York and Prebendary of Apesthorpe.

(6) " Of your charity pray for the soules of William Beckwith and Jane his wief . . . Beckwith and Ann his wief, which caused this window to be glazed. A.Dom. mccccxxx."

The four windows in the south wall of the church that contain old glass are all glazed in the same style, with large figures against plain white quarries. Together with some glass in the east window of the north aisle, they form the only portions of the nine windows mentioned by Dodsworth which are of the same date as the church itself.

Second from the East

(1) St. John the Evangelist. Below, a priest, in surplice and choir cope, at a faldstool, praying: *Sc Petre ora pro nobis.* This figure ought to be in the next light. (2) St. Peter. Below, kneeling figures of donors, all young, who may or may not be in their right position in this window. Some wear chaplets round their heads. (3) A bishop, possibly St. Wilfrid. Below, sixteen kneeling figures of donors, again all young, probably with the others representing a guild that gave a window. (4) A saint, said to be St. John the Baptist. Below, a priest invoking the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The initials of Thomas Marsar will be noticed in the roundels near the foot of the first and third lights.

Third from the East

St. Peter, with the inscription *Scs Hug* . . . , which ought to be in the third light. Below, a shield-of-arms. (2) St. Paul, with the shield below containing two crossed swords, the bearing given to him by heralds from the thirteenth century onwards. (3) St. Hugh, presumably of Lincoln. Below, the arms of St. William of York, which ought to be in the fourth light. (4) St. William of York. Below the arms of St. Peter and of the Dean and Chapter of York, which ought to be in the first light. Underneath are four roundels, on

Photo. J. A. Knowles.

ARMS OF THE GLASS PAINTERS GUILD

ST. HELEN.

NORTH AISLE.

facing p. 150.

one of which is the date 1746 ; but the glass is inserted back to front. The same date is found in the east window. Probably a restoration of the glass took place at this date.

Fourth from the East

(1) A knight. The inscription is in English, and is fragmentary. Below, a pierced and winged Sacred Heart. This emblem is exceedingly rare in English glass. The example here is broken, but a good deal of it remains. (2) St. James. Below a priest praying : "*Miserere mei, Deus*" ("Have mercy upon me, O God"). (3) A bishop, but he is crowned. The figure, like many in these four windows, has been sadly mutilated. Below, a priest praying : *O Fili Dei, miserere mei* ("O Son of God, have mercy on me"). (4) A mutilated figure. Below, the shield of St. George, which ought to be in the next window eastwards. In the first and fourth lights, repeated four times, are the initials of Thomas Marsar.

HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE

Quite apart from its old glass, this church should not be missed out in any tour of the churches of York. The earliest church on the site was of thirteenth-century foundation, but most of the present building is Decorated in style, with the addition of Perpendicular window-frames at the east and west ends and in the north aisle. The south aisle was built for a chantry chapel dedicated to St. James. The old pulpit and pews are a feature of the church, in which services are very rarely held.

The pick of the glass is the late Perpendicular east window. It consists of five lights of unequal height without tracery, which are glazed in three divisions. Large figures occupy the middle row, groups of small figures are found at the base, and the heads of the lights contain low canopies and heraldic shields.

The central subject is a representation of the Blessed Trinity. The figure of the dead Christ, Whose body is pierced and lined as evidence of His sufferings, is supported by the hands of the Father, Who is clad in a blue robe, and Whose feet can be seen at the base of the light, just above the inscription. The Dove rests on the head of the Saviour, but nearly half of it has disappeared. A priest kneels at the left-hand lower corner of the panel, and is uttering the words *Te adoro et glorifico, O beata Trinitas* ("I adore and glorify Thee, O blessed Trinity").

It is thus seen that at the Minster, St. John's, and in this church there are representations of the Trinity which do not show the Son on the Cross.

The two figures to the left of the Trinity are of St. George in plate armour, but with mutilated surcoat, so that the red cross, if ever he bore it, has disappeared, and St. John the Baptist. St. George is killing a monster red dragon. The treatment of the figure of St. John the Baptist may be contrasted with the design of the similar figure at St. Denys's. Here the skin is dark pink in colour; there it is brown. Here the head, which in both windows is seen between the legs of the saint, is much better drawn. Both panels show natural scenery, but there is far less here, and no trees, only flowers; and here too there are no animals. Some differences may be expected, seeing that the windows are separated in date by about one and a half centuries. The other two panels show St. John the Evangelist and St. Christopher. With a disregard for tradition, the restorers of the window inserted for the original head the head of an old and bearded man. The chalice which St. John holds contains not a serpent, nor a dragon, but an octopus. The figure of St. Christopher is entirely satisfactory, and perhaps the finest representation of this saint in York. As at St. John's, the staff is crowned with leaves.

The backgrounds of these figures are of red and blue alternately, red being in the middle panel.

EAST WINDOW.

HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE.

facing p. 152.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

Below the five large figures are groups of people as follows: (1) St. Mary Cleopas and her husband, Alphaeus, with their sons, St. Jude, St. Simon, St. James the Less, and Joseph Justus, the last named being in his mother's arms; (2) St. Anne, St. Joachim, the Blessed Virgin Mary as a young girl, and the smaller figure of Christ placed against the blue robe of St. Anne at the foot of the panel, but with the head missing; (3) another group representing the Blessed Trinity and consisting of three crowned figures, with a smaller figure of the Blessed Virgin, originally, without much doubt, being crowned in Heaven; (4) Salome and Zebedee, with St. John the Evangelist as a child, holding his emblems, the eagle and the book; (5) St. Ursula, protecting a king, a pope, and some virgins. In the Trinity group, the robe of our Lord covers the knees of the other two Persons; in the next group, there is an insertion of a smaller female figure in later glass who has a basket containing birds, perhaps a fragment from a group depicting the Presentation in the Temple, and here inserted instead of the figure of St. James the Greater; in the last group, St. Ursula has within her cloak others than virgins, whereas in St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church only virgins are to be seen.

Three of the groups in the lowest portion of the window are of married saints and their families, chosen probably as a consequence of the obsolescence of the idea that celibacy was the only state of life in which a man could be holy.

In the upper portion of the window, the three middle lights contain, under fragmentary canopies, shields: (1) *azure a chevron gules between three mullets or*; (2) the see of Canterbury impaling a quartered shield, the bearings on which are not clear; and (3) *gules a garb or* perhaps, though incorrectly, for John Kemp, Archbishop of York, 1425–52, and afterwards of Canterbury, though the garb has given place to a white leaf.

The inscription below the large figures asks for mercy

for the soul of (John) Walker, Rector of the church, who gave the window in the year 1470. Few windows can be dated so exactly. The student is reminded of the munificence of Robert Semer, Vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, who presented the west window of the church in the year 1437.[1]

Both the other windows at the east end of the church contain old glass, but in a sadly mutilated condition. In the north aisle, the subject-matter of the window was evidently devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is represented at the top of the left-hand light as the Queen of Heaven (scroll, *Regina celi*), and in the panel below (scroll, *Sca Maria*) wears a tiara and holds the Child. Under her figure, in the same panel, is a fragment which, from the lettering which remains, *Wilmus*, was originally the figure of St. William of York. In the right-hand light the inscription *Domina mundi* is puzzling; the head is that of a mitred bishop or archbishop. Below, there is a small figure of a saint, probably St. John the Evangelist. Both panels at the foot are filled with fragments, in the midst of which a figure can be seen in each.

The east window in the south aisle is similarly glazed, and, as in the window just referred to, the fragments are placed between white borders. Both windows have shallow canopy-tops which contain at their summit two curious animals whose heads nearly meet at the apex. The two figures which occupy the upper panels are of St. Paulinus (?) on the left (scroll, *Sca Pa . . .*), and St. Olave, who holds three stones, and cannot be St. Stephen because he is crowned, on the right. In the panel below the former figure is the shield of Latimer (*gu. a cross patonce or*). The remainder of the window is filled with fragments, amongst which can be seen, in the panel below the figure of St. Olave, a figure with a cross on the forehead.

The four windows on the south wall, two of them in the chantry chapel, are each glazed with coloured

[1] See p. 138.

glass only in two tracery lights. The first window displays the arms of Provence (*paly of six or and gules*), which are found in York only once again, in the heraldic window of the nave of the Minster, and those of England. The second window has no heraldic shields. In the chapel are the shields of Ros (*gules three water-budgets argent*, De Vere (*quarterly gules and or, in the first a mullet argent*, the fourth quarter being mutilated), Percy (*or a lion rampant azure*), and Mowbray (*gules a lion rampant argent*). These four shields are not found elsewhere in York except in the Minster. A large framed coloured drawing of the Ros shield, the work of Miss Mabel Leaf, of York, hangs on the westernmost pier of the north arcade of the nave of the church.

It is a pity that the fine Perpendicular west window in this church has lost its original glass.

ST. SAMPSON

(See p. 235)

CHAPTER VIII

PARISH CHURCHES: SECOND GROUP

ST. SAVIOUR—ST. CUTHBERT—ST. DENYS—ST. MARY, CASTLEGATE—ST. MICHAEL, SPURRIERGATE

ST. SAVIOUR

THERE are in the eleven tracery compartments in each window at the east end of the aisle fragments of old glass, including three circular medallions which display on a red ground two crossed swords in allusion to St. Paul; the chief interest for the student of medieval glass is, however, in the magnificent Perpendicular east window of five lights and thirty-three tracery compartments, all of which contain Perpendicular glass. The subject-matter of the window seems to have centred round the Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord. There is much fragmentary glass in the tracery, but at the summit, as in the case of the east window of York Minster, can be made out the figure of God the Father, with open book, and, in some of the other compartments, representations of our Lord, with the marks of suffering on His body, the Blessed Virgin Mary, angels with trumpets, a pope, a priest in vestments, and some nude figures, suggesting that the subject-matter included the Last Judgment. Very little can be made out of the ten figures in the compartments immediately above the main lights except their sex.

The lights are in a similarly fragmentary condition, and what is here described is, unfortunately, all that can be seen, amongst the broken pieces, of what must originally have been one of the most magnificent windows

in the city outside the Minster. It is when we see a window in this condition that we realise the excellence of the glass in the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street, or in some of the windows of All Saints', North Street. Each light contains three subjects, which are described from the top downwards.

Middle Light

(1) Fragmentary. Perhaps originally the Entombment. The figure of a man (Joseph of Arimathea ?) in a hat can be seen.

(2) Fragmentary. The head of a woman and part of the figure of an angel have survived of what may have been the appearance of the angel at the tomb.

(3) Part of a canopy-top of date not far from the end of the fourteenth century sheltering the figure of a woman. This is plainly an insertion.

Second Light

(1) A small representation of Calvary, the three figures being white and placed on a vivid blue background. This is without doubt an inserted panel.

(2) Two panels. (*a*) A nude figure of our Lord, crowned with thorns, Who sits on a kind of chair with hands and feet manacled, and holding over His left shoulder a scourge. This is a seventeenth-century insertion. (*b*) A shield bearing the instruments of the Passion.

(3) Heads amidst fragments.

Fourth Light

(1) St. Thomas, kneeling, and thrusting his hand into the side of our Lord, Who, except for a loin-cloth, is naked and shows His wounded body.

(2) The Descent from the Cross. A woman in blue stands by, probably the Blessed Virgin, while a man grasps the dead body round the middle, and another draws the nails out of the feet of our Lord.

(3) Fragmentary. A kneeling nude figure, perhaps

part of the Judgment scene referred to. Two heads, one being the head of our Lord.

First Light

(1) The Elevation of the Cross. The Cross is held sideways, and soldiers are driving nails through the left hand and the feet. The right hand is tied to the cross preparatory to being nailed.

(2) Our Lord's body, laid on a raised slab supported by sides on which Decorated window-spaces are painted, and being prepared for burial. Two people stand by, one being a woman.

(3) Fragmentary.

Fifth Light

(1) In the lower right-hand corner, seven people, all in halos, kneel looking up. This panel represents the Ascension.

(2) Fragmentary.

(3) Fragmentary. An angel with censer, and a soldier in armour, can be seen.

The window was therefore a pictorial representation on a large scale of the drama surrounding the end of our Lord's earthly life. It has lost its glory, and is dull and lifeless. The pale green borders of the tracery lights add nothing at all to give a little more colour to the window. There are no borders, and the canopies, which are hexagonal and are surmounted with embattled parapets crowned with spires, occupy only the heads of the lights. They do, however, contain patches of blue colour, which here and there relieve the monotony of the window.

ST. CUTHBERT

Except for fragmentary borders in four windows on the south side and two on the north side of the church, which is rectangular in ground-plan and has no aisles, the only coloured glass consists of shields placed in

ST. THOMAS OUR LORD. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

NORTH AISLE.

ST. DENYS.

facing p. 158. [*Photographed by William Watson.*

plain quarries. On the north side, in order counting from the east, there are as follows :

First Window.—Barry of six sable and argent; St. George ; *argent a chief gules.*

Second Window.—France and England quartered, but incomplete and wrongly arranged ; *argent a bend sable* ; France and England quartered, but again incomplete.

Third Window.—St. George ; *gules a saltire argent* for Neville ; *barry nebuly of seven argent and gules a chief gules.*

Fourth Window.—Argent a chief gules ; argent a chevron or ; argent a chief azure.

On the south side the two windows, both only of two lights, contain, counting from the west end :

First Window.—(*a*) A shield displaying a man pouring a liquid from one jug into two others, perhaps a scene from the Cana wedding-feast.

(*b*) A shield showing a saint and a woman. There are four old quarries below.

In the tops of these two lights are a head to the left and a priest to the right.

Second Window.—City of York and *argent a saltire gules.*

ST. DENYS

The church of St. Denys is in one of the least attractive parts of the city. It is reached from St. Michael-le-Belfrey without any side-turns by way of Petergate, Colliergate, Fossgate, and Walmgate, in the last-named of which it stands. Entrance is by the elaborate Norman south door. The church consists of three aisles, north, middle, and south, of equal length. The medieval glass is to be seen in four windows in the north aisle, two in the south aisle, and the east window. While much of it is in a fragmentary condition, some of it is remarkably good, and two medallions are amongst

the earliest examples of medieval glass in York. The chronological order is sufficiently near the most convenient order for walking round the church to be followed here.

The two early medallions are in the middle light of the westernmost window in the north aisle, the window opposite the entrance door. They are securely placed in strong iron bands circular in shape, and are arranged between yellow squares on end against modern quarries. The lower of the two is the easier to read. Amongst many fragments of deep blue which form the background, the face, yellow hair, and red robe of a figure to the left may be seen, looking eastwards. The right hand holds a short sword which is pointed downwards towards the figure of a red demon, the head, legs, tail, and cloven feet of which are excellently preserved. The left arm of the demon is extended towards the other figure. Between these two figures is perhaps a third, with a headpiece rather than a head, and wearing some kind of ermine cloak. The subject is probably of St. Michael preventing the demons from escaping from Hell.

The upper medallion is said to represent somebody kneeling before the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary. To the left there is a kneeling figure who wears a greenish garment below and leans forward, with left arm outstretched, to what appears to be an ermine-covered pedestal of square shape, with sloping sides, which rises from the ground in steps or stages. It is possible to make out a figure sitting or standing on the pedestal and dressed in a long, flowing red robe and white cape. Over the headpiece of this figure is the head, well defined and with features well marked, of a bearded man. This is only a conjectural reading, and is suggested by the supposed subject-matter of the medallion. Enough, however, can be made out to point to the representation being that of a suppliant of some kind before a person on a throne or a pedestal.

The ruby glass used in these two early medallions,

which probably belong to the second half of the twelfth-century, and therefore are coeval with the panel at the foot of the Five Sisters window, is of excellent quality, as is the later ruby used in the other two windows on the north wall of the church. Each medallion is protected on the outside by plate glass.

The remainder of the window contains Decorated glass, which has been restored and some of it in consequence lost. A modern leaf-pattern occupies the top quatrefoil in the tracery, while the lower two quatrefoils have figures of female saints, whose head-pieces are insertions. The left-hand light is glazed with a mutilated representation of the martyrdom of St. John the Baptist, which, like the panel on the same subject in St. John's church, shows the figure of Salome and a gateway with portcullis. Salome wears over her head a kerchief with ornamented border, and round her neck a wimple, both in the style of the fourteenth century. The figure of St. John the Baptist in the third light is most interesting. He is shown in the wilderness, clothed in the brown skin of a camel, the head of which is between his legs, and standing amidst trees, in one of which sits a bird. At his feet are a small animal and the kneeling figure of a woman. The canopies over the Decorated figures are of an uncommon style. The gabled shafts are joined at the top by means of an embattled parapet, above which is a short spire with pinnacles at the sides, and below which is an ogee arch. The centre light has no borders; those of the side lights consist of a red ground relieved with a double rose.

The middle window in the north aisle is of similar character, but is more complete. In the tracery are figures of the crucified Christ, and the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John. Against backgrounds of red and pale blue respectively there are in the first and second lights figures of St. Margaret, in brown cloak and green dress, killing the dragon, and of the Blessed Virgin, who, in white dress, kerchief, and wimple, and holding

the Child on her left arm, leans against the shafting of the canopy. The corresponding panel in the third light has lost its figure, and is now glazed with modern quarries. The canopies over the two figures are earlier and much less advanced in design than those in the first window. From square panelled shafts springs the only arch of the canopy, which has only one stage, consisting of arch and ornamentation. This design places the window early in the fourteenth century. Three figures of the donor and his family placed against quarries occupy the three lowest panels. The donor, in red and blue robes, kneels in the first light; then his wife, who wears kerchief and wimple and is in a green dress; then the son, whose dress is worth some notice as typical of his time. His brown tunic, which is secured at the waist by a green belt, is buttoned and close-fitting. He has a white and gilt pouch, which hangs down from the middle of his belt and does duty for a pocket. His handsome brown cape hangs over his right shoulder. Half of his dress is coloured red, perhaps an insertion. He has green hose and tight-fitting shoes, also green. The inscription below, fragmentary and incomplete, bids the faithful pray for the souls of Robert . . . and of John, his son. The Christian name of the wife and the surname of the family are missing. The borders, gold crowns on a blue ground, and gold-coloured lions on a red ground, are continued along the base of the window.

The best coloured glass in the church is in the next window going eastwards, the easternmost on the north wall. Even in a north light it shows up extraordinarily well. Its design is complete. The head of our Lord in a blue halo with rays of gold, and the heads of two saints, are in the tracery, against green backgrounds. In the main lights the kneeling figures of St. Thomas, our Lord (but with no wounds visible), Who holds a long-bannered cross-staff and leans against the shafting of the canopy, and St. John, who holds a golden eagle within a circle, suggest that the subject-matter of the

window is the appearance of our Lord to St. Thomas and the only evangelist who has made known the story. As with all three of the windows of this aisle, the rubies in this window are very fine. Our Lord stands against a ruby background, the other two figures against a background of green. All three are dressed in white. Below, in the middle light, is the kneeling figure of the donor, who is praying *Domine, miserere mei* ("Lord, have mercy upon me"). The meaning of the letter T which is found in the middle of each of the lowest panels in the side lights cannot be conjectured. The heraldic borders, in the middle light the *fleurs-de-lis* of France and the leopards of England alternating with oblongs of blue glass, and in the side lights a castle with portcullis alternating with a covered cup, both against a red background, are continued along the base. This type of conventional border continued to be used for many years after the death of Queen Eleanor in 1290. The canopies, which are similar to those in the next window going westwards, point to a date early in the fourteenth century.

The four small tracery compartments in each of these three windows contain old glass, but it is hardly worthy of notice.

Perhaps the most disappointing window in the church is the five-light Jesse at the east end of the north aisle. The stonework of the tracery is not complete. In ten small compartments in the tracery there is old glass, one of which shows a nude figure which, taken with other nude figures in another part of the window, probably points to the previous existence of "Doom" panels in the Jesse. In the lights, against fragments in twenty panels, four in each light, is the Jesse tree, of regular oval shape in each panel, and coloured green like the tree in the south aisle of the nave of York Minster.[1] The whole is set in borders consisting of fragments; but, unlike the tree, which stops short at the lowest panel in each light, the borders

[1] See p. 29.

continue to the foot of the window. The student who expects to find here a fairly complete representation of the figures in a medieval Jesse tree will be greatly disappointed. The window has a very fine example of the best Decorated blue in a figure, perhaps the most complete in the window, in the middle panel of the fifth light, whose blue hat and blue belted robe are unsurpassed for colour in the Decorated glass in the city of York. But no other figure approaches completeness and not a single one can be named. Amongst a variety of heads set in the midst of the fragments, the following panels contain heads which are probably originals: first light, fourth from top; second light, second from top; third light, second from top (but the face is white, and not, like the others, pink); fourth light, fourth from top (the head of a mitred bishop); and fifth light, fourth from top. These give a faint idea of the original glory of the window, but they only serve to increase our regret that so much has been destroyed.

A similar feeling is inevitable when the visitor to the church sees that the magnificent five-light east window, which contains in the late Perpendicular tracery twenty-four compartments, now possesses less than one-third of its original glass, the remainder being plain white glass. Of the figures which once occupied the tracery lights, not a single complete figure remains. The least damaged is a figure of St. Christopher in the left-hand of the upper pair of the tracery lights above the middle light. But only the legs, the water, the staff, and the Child can now be seen. Of the fragments that fill the remainder of the compartments of the tracery, only two or three heads can be made out amidst a mass of pieces. Immediately above the middle light are the figures of two angels, each of which holds the shield, inside out, of Scrope of Masham, *azure a bend or a label of three points argent*, but the right-hand shield displays on the label a *fleur-de-lis sable*.

The middle light contains the upper part of a repre-

sentation of the Crucifixion, and from our Lord's left arm a stream of blood, coloured white in the window, drops into a chalice. The Crucifix is flanked in the two nearest lights with figures of the Blessed Virgin (left), in a long white cloak edged with gilt and lined with ermine, and blue dress, and St. John (right), whose figure is cut short at the middle. The extreme lights show the upper half of the figure of a sainted priest who holds a crozier, and one of the headless St. Denys, the patron saint of the church, in vestments. The representation of St. Denys is mutilated, especially above, but the mitred head which he holds is plain. Below the crucifix in the middle light there is a very well preserved panel of a crowned king, who is giving his hand to a kneeling bishop. Two interested spectators complete the group. This is one of the finest panels amongst the stained glass in the city of York.

Twelve panels of fragments at the foot of the four lights of the east window of the south aisle do not compensate for the loss of so much of the original glass in the east window. The fragments include heads, trumpets, and banners, a dragon coming out of a chalice, and a pope with triple crown, having the grotesque head of a beast on one side of him and of a woman's head on the other.

Finally, there is medieval glass in the easternmost of the three windows of the south aisle. The seven tracery compartments are filled with fragments, two of the three larger ones containing, in the midst of fragments, a man playing a small pipe organ, and portions of the figures of two angels, one of whom plays an instrument by turning a handle. Of the three main lights below, only the upper half is filled with coloured glass. The middle light has a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary with golden rays proceeding from her, probably representing her Assumption. She wears a triple crown, and at the very top of the light the Dove hovers over her. To the left is the figure of a female saint with a sword, who, like the figure in

the third light, which is on a smaller scale and is composed of fragments that are probably insertions, has a beautiful ruby robe. The rubies of the aisle windows of this church are very fine indeed. In the spandrels of the first two lights, angels are seen supporting the central figures.

In 1736 there was a window "now almost defaced," a drawing of which, made at the end of the sixteenth century, Drake gives.[1] In the middle there were kneeling figures of Harry Hotspur and Joan Neville, who bore on her red dress the white *saltire*. Above and below were other kneeling figures of members of the Percy family, including a mitred prelate, who had a house near the church. The shield of Percy quartering Lucy was also shown. Every trace of this window has disappeared. The allusions are explained as follows. Hotspur's son, the second Earl of Northumberland, married Eleanor Neville (probably it is she, and not Joan, who was represented here). They had twelve children, one of whom, William Percy, was Bishop of Carlisle from 1452 to 1462. The earl died in 1455, and it was undoubtedly he and his family who were commemorated in the window.

ST. MARY, CASTLEGATE

The three-light window at the east end of the south aisle is the only window in the church in which any medieval glass has survived. It is contained in all three lights and in four compartments in the tracery.

The most interesting portions of it are the three canopies and figures which are arranged in a belt across the middle of the window. The canopies are of simple design, and the gable and the archway, the only roof over the figures, spring directly from two side shafts, the design of which consists of intersecting black lines on a yellow ground (a style of design which places the glass early in the fourteenth century), a fragment

[1] *Eboracum*, facing p. 306.

coloured blue in each shaft, a small open Decorated panel, and the pinnacle, which is crocketed. The backgrounds of the figures under the canopies are of green, red, and red. It would have been better to interchange the order of the first and the second. The first figure is of St. John the Baptist, who is clothed in brown and white garments, and holds the Lamb in a disc. In spite of the head being an insertion, the figure is well-preserved. The middle light shows a composite figure of a crowned king blessing. This head also is an insertion for the head of an ecclesiastic, and there is no halo. The robes are of white and green. The other figure, in blue and brown, is of a saint who holds either a staff or a sword, and is either St. James or St. Paul. All three of these figures, with their canopies, are very well drawn. Above and below each are small medallions each containing either a monogram or other device. The borders are fragmentary but complete, and do not extend across the base of the window. The tops of the lights are decorated with small figures of a queen, our Lord, and a king.

The tracery contains fragments of two shields which bore the powdered *fleurs-de-lis* and perhaps also lions. There are also two other shields, one of which bears a merchant's mark; the other is *or a lion rampant azure* for Percy.

ST. MICHAEL, SPURRIERGATE

This church stands at the corner of Coney Street and Ousegate, and abuts on both streets. Entrance is by the door in Coney Street.

The church, like most of the parish churches of York, is built in three aisles each of the same length. Old glass is found in seven of the windows—the east and the west windows at the ends of the aisles, and the first, second, and third from the east in the south aisle. It will be convenient, in making a tour of the church, to begin with the window above the entrance door, the east window in the north aisle.

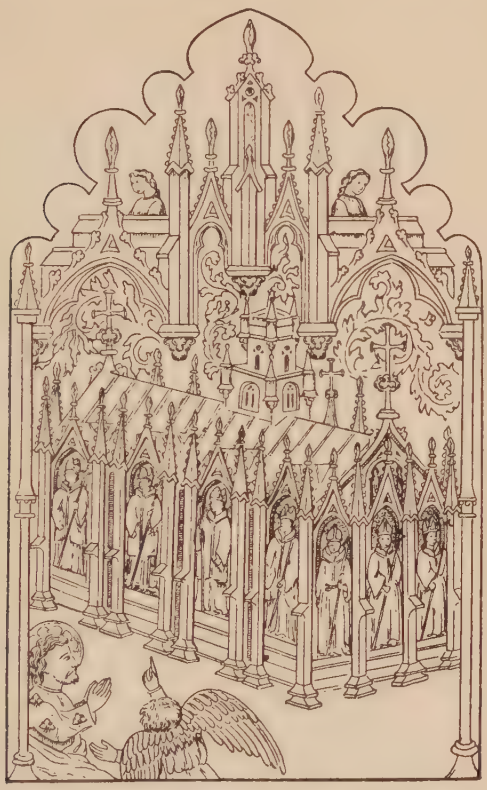
This is a four-light window, and it contains fragments of medieval glass in four panels in each of the two middle lights. Very little can be made out of the fragments, which are mostly of the Perpendicular style and belong to the fifteenth century. At the head of the left-hand of the two lights in question is a scroll which evidently described the descent of Lucifer. In the panel immediately below is a representation of the head of God the Father, and in the corresponding panel in the next light a figure with a scroll: "ascensionis . . ." The remaining eight panels are filled with fragments in a medley, but, as with such pieces, the general colour effect is entirely satisfactory.

The east window in the south aisle is similarly glazed, with four panels in each of the two middle lights, and again not much can be read into the fragments. It is possible that some of the panels formed originally parts of a Te Deum window. They have, however, no connection with the two windows on this general subject in the west aisle of the south transept of York Minster.[1] Parts of the lowest panels appear to have represented a "Doom," for two Demons are seen in the left-hand light, and they are striking with terror several frightened-looking people in the right-hand light. In various other of the eight panels can be made out an inscription, *vocamus te*, and several heads, including Christ and two kings, all in different panels, together with a warrior in chain armour and a group showing a female kneeling before a man. The warrior has on a white surcoat *a fess between six roundels sable.*

The two lights in the first window from the east in the south aisle which contain medieval glass are most interesting. They represent eight of the nine orders of heavenly beings who surround the throne of God, each group arranged under low canopies of simple design. Perhaps the bearded figure at the top is all

[1] See pp. 16–17.

that is left of the figure of God the Father. Of the two next compartments, the right, from the inscription, is filled with figures of three Cherubim. The left-hand contains Seraphim, represented by the figures of three females, unclothed to the waist, the lower part of whose



THE SEVEN CHURCHES.
(East Window, York Minster.)

bodies is hidden by coloured glass. The next pair, going downwards, are of three Thrones and three females, each of the latter with a cross in her hair. The "Troni," as the inscription proclaims them to be, are handsome figures with golden crowns and golden wings, and the middle one holds a pair of scales. Below them, though

there is nothing to indicate their rank, are three winged kings in plate armour of the middle of the fifteenth century, each with a crown over his basinet. These are probably the *Principatus* (Principalities). Level with these are the kneeling figures of three winged warriors in plate armour, each with a golden chain round his basinet. One holds a shield, the shape of which is mutilated, but the bearing on which, a white rose of York, has survived. The end of the inscription, the letters *tes* (upside-down), may be the last three letters in *Potestates* ("Powers"). The lowest pair of panels show, on the left, three winged figures, each of whom wears a close-fitting black skull-cap with a spike at the crown; they are probably *Dominaciones*, the inscription being *Dnici*. The remaining panel displays an angel with trumpet, and with the figure of an archangel on each side of him. The scroll is probably an insertion, as it cannot refer to them. The Virtues (*Virtutes*) are the females in the same row as the Thrones. The subject-matter of this window is unique in York, the nearest approach to it being the group of angels and other heavenly beings in the tracery of the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street.

The other two windows in this aisle are glazed in the middle lights mainly with fragments from a Jesse window, which will repay careful study. In the two windows, thirteen panels have survived, eight in the second window from the east, and six in the third. Owing to judicious restoration in the year 1821, these panels show much of the original design. The stem and the foliage are both white, and the fruit is yellow. Both are abundant in quantity. The general colour of the background is grey or green. The stem is not so prominent as, and the leaves are more prominent than, in the Jesse window in the choir of York Minster.[1] The panels are not in their original order, but they would repay rearrangement in one window. In addition to the head of a king, who is nameless, at the top of

[1] See pp. 83–84.

the left-hand light of the second window from the east, the figures in this window are as follows :

The Blessed Virgin and the Child.
King David with harp.
King.

Daniel.
Scroll: *Dan . . .*

King Manasseh.
Scroll: *nasses.*
King.
Scroll: *a.areel.*
King.
Scroll: *Rex . . . Rex.*
Isaiah.
Scroll: *Ysaias.*

The Virgin is in a long white robe, edged with gilt, on the lower part of which the letter M is painted several times.

In the next window, the top panel in the left-hand light, which shows a king and a queen with two attendants placed under a low canopy, and the lowest two in the other light, one of which is fragmentary and the other of which has the head of a bishop, the figure of an angel, and other fragments, are not parts of the original Jesse. The five remaining Jesse panels contain the following figures :

(King and Queen.)

Zechariah.
Scroll: *Zaca . . .*
Malachi.
Scroll: *Malachias.*
King Hezekiah.
Scroll: *Re(x) : echias . . .*

King Jotham.
Scroll: *Johetan.*
Prophet.

(Fragments.)

(Heads of bishop, angels, etc.)

The queen is crowned, and her kerchief is gathered into a knot which hides her ears, a common style at the end of the fifteenth century. Above the figure of Malachi is inserted a figure of a lamb carrying a bannered staff.

The prevailing colours of the window are white and yellow, relieved with blue and red, some of which is later than the date of the original window, which belonged to the early part of the fifteenth century or the end of the fourteenth.

The two windows at the west end of the aisle, both

of four lights, are glazed with fragments of old glass for borders, and with representations of birds, heads, the star of the Order of the Garter with motto, our Lord wearing the crown of thorns, the Blessed Trinity, fragments of gables, and the like, all arranged in round medallions, four in each light of each window. Two in the north aisle are modern, and can easily be distinguished.

CHAPTER IX

PARISH CHURCHES: THIRD GROUP

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET—ST. JOHN—ST. MARTIN-CUM-GREGORY—ST. MARY, BISHOPHILL, JUNIOR

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET

THE medieval glass in this church is famed even in a city which is the chief home of medieval glass. Alone amongst the treasures of this kind in the parish churches of York, the glass of this church has received adequate attention and has been worthily sketched.[1] The present church, which was built at various times from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, stands on the site of an older church, and is tucked away behind high buildings and small houses. Yet no York parish church attracts more visitors.

The old glass is contained in fourteen out of sixteen windows, four of which, however, have nothing more than fragments. It does not appear, nearly complete as the scheme of glazing remains, that the windows were inserted on any plan, except that of displaying in most of the lights and the tracery the figures of saints. Of the fourteen windows which contain medieval glass, eight are more or less completely glazed with it. The two east windows in the aisles are the earliest in the church, and will be described first. The other windows are Perpendicular in style.

The earliest glass is contained in the east window of the north aisle. Under gabled canopies which are decorated above with crockets and finials drawn with

[1] *An Old York Church: All Hallows, North Street,* edited by the Rev. P. J. Shaw.

yellow stain and filled underneath with quatrefoils and trefoils are three groups across the middle of the window. The Crucifixion occupies the middle light, with the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John at the foot of the Cross and a skull beneath the feet of the Saviour. The Adoration of the Magi in the first light is a delightful representation. The Virgin is crowned, and the Child is standing, not sitting, on her lap. One king is kneeling and offering a gold cup. The other two are standing, and one of them is pointing upwards with his forefinger, as though at the star which has guided them. In the third light, in the Coronation scene, our Lord is dressed in an under-robe of blue and an over-robe of gold, and the Virgin in pink and gold. Below these three groups, and under shallow canopies, are representations of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Resurrection. The lily between the Archangel and the Virgin is very far from conventional. In the Nativity scene the ass looks down benignantly on the Holy Family. The Resurrection in the third light shows our Lord just rising, with His right leg hanging over the slab on which He is resting, having apparently disturbed the slumber of one of the three armed soldiers below. The tracery lights show figures of St. Michael, St. George, and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The borders of the side lights display leaves on opposite sides of a flowing stalk, and in the middle light cups and castles alternately, the castles probably in allusion to Eleanor of Castile, first wife of Edward I. This allusion, together with the large quantity of yellow stain used in the window, places it not much later than the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the tracery, which contains old glass in seven compartments, are figures of St. Michael, St. George, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, which are very well preserved and excellently drawn.

The east window of the south aisle is the only other Decorated window in the church, and very little of the original glass is left in it. The six figures which the window displays are set under gabled canopies and in

AN ARCHBISHOP.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

SOUTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

[*By permission of the Rev. P. J. Shaw.*

facing p. 174.

"tabernacles" which are not broad or high enough to fill the lights. The spaces at the sides and above and beneath the coloured glass are filled with quarries, which are ornamented with leaf forms. The top three subjects are of the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John; below are figures of two kneeling females, possibly donors of the window, in the sidelights, and our Lord with the cup of sorrow, probably in the Garden of Gethsemane. The borders are similar to those in the east window of the north aisle. There is some old glass in all the seven compartments of the tracery.

A much more attractive window than the two which have just been described occupies the place of honour in the church above the high altar. Each light shows a canopy and a tabernacle containing either one or two large figures which stand on pedestals, the lower portions of which form the roofs over the heads of the smaller figures below. It is unusual in a window of the date of this window, about the middle of the fifteenth century, to find that the backgrounds of the canopies and those of the large figures under them are not interchanged in colour, but are throughout red, blue, and red. The small figures below are, however, against backgrounds differently coloured: (1) a tapestry pattern of blue and gold stripes, (2) red, and (3) a tapestry pattern of green and gold stripes. All the backgrounds are beautifully diapered. As is common in York windows, the sides of the canopies contain small figures, in this case two in each light near the feet of the chief figures. The canopies are of beautiful design, and are almost uniform. The central subject is of St. Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin to read. The headdress of St. Anne is of a curious shape and colour, red with two ermine stripes, and may be an insertion, though the ruby matches in colour the ruby of her cloak. The blue of St. Anne's dress hardly differs in colour from the blue of the background. The Virgin is dressed in a long rich robe of white and gold. She is reading from a psalter, which is open and shows the

words *Domine exaudi oracionem meam auribus percipe obsecracionem meam* ("Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with Thine ears consider my calling"). The left-hand figure is of St. John the Baptist, who wears a robe of camel's hair coloured gilt, with a cloak of blue, and holds a book on which sits a Lamb with a banner, to which he points. The large figure is of St. Christopher, who wears a white robe edged with gilt, holds a strong club, and looks up at the Child on his shoulder. The water through which he is wading contains a fish. The Child's head is encircled with a scroll on which are the words *Christofore dominus sedeo qui crimina tollo.*

Below, the middle panel shows a group representing the Trinity. God the Father sits on a gold throne; with His right hand He blesses His people, and with His left hand and right arm He holds the cross, on which is a figure of the dying Saviour, into Whose ear the Dove whispers. Similar representations of the Trinity are found in other York churches. The side figures are of members of the Blackburn family. The two in the left-hand light represent Nicholas Blackburn and his wife. They kneel in prayer to the Holy Trinity. The lady wears a fifteenth-century "horned" hat, but not of an extravagant style, and a red cloak. She is reading out of a book which she holds open at the words *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua* ("O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine indignation, neither [chasten me] in Thy displeasure"). Her husband wears, under a green cloak, white breeches and a red coat, the colour of the field of his shield, on which are traces of the bearings with which the shield, twice repeated in the window, is charged. In the right-hand light kneel the figures of another Nicholas Blackburn and his wife. The lady is wearing a "horned" hat of similar style to that of her mother-in-law, with a long red cloak and a dress of white and gilt. She too holds a book, open at the words *Domine labia mea aperies et os meum* ("Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth [shall shew Thy praise]"). Her

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

EAST WINDOW.

[*Photographed by William Watson*

facing p. 176.

husband is in plate armour and a short red surcoat, and he wears gauntlets, which are prominent, as his hands are raised in supplication. His helmet rests in front of him on the ground. The scroll which proceeds from him reads: *Det venie munus nobis rex trinus et unus* ("May the King, the Three in One, grant to us pardon of our sins"). The two Blackburn panels each display two shields, one containing the letter B on a white ground, and the other, *gules a lion rampant checky ermine and sable*, differenced with a mullet for the son. The inscription under the left-hand panel is as follows: *Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakeburn junioris quondam maioris ciuitatis Ebor. et Margarette uxoris eius.* The corresponding one under the other panel is the same except that the word *senioris* is substituted for *junioris*. It is curious that the son appears as the older man of the two. Both father and son occupied the position of Mayor of the city of York.

The modern glass in the tracery lights portrays our Lord worshipped by angels, kings, and virgins.

The window was doubtless the gift of the son and the daughter-in-law, probably about the year 1440.

The next window to be considered is the well-known "Prykke of Conscience" Window, the first from the east in the north aisle, a window perhaps without a parallel in medieval glass. Inspired by St. Jerome and by the Apocalypse of St. John, Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, a Yorkshireman born in 1290, wrote "The Prykke of Conscience" some time about the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This window is based on that portion of his work that describes the pains and horrors of the last fifteen days of the history of the world. Fifteen subjects, one for each day, fill the five rows of panels in the window, which should be read from left to right as the observer faces the window, and commencing with the bottom row. A restoration of the year 1861, during the incumbency of Robert Whytehead, preserved in a remarkable way the medieval character of the glass, and made

no attempt to supply the missing letters of the rows of printing below the subjects. The panels below the topmost row have no canopies, but are flanked by the supports of the small transitional canopies which occupy the heads and shoulders of the three lights, which take the place of borders. About half-way up the window the borders display, two in each light, the figures of men in soft, high hats, coloured yellow. Representations of nine donors, three in each light, fill the lowest row of panels.

The events of the fifteen days are terrible indeed. The sea first rises (first day), then falls (second day), and leaves the earth once again dry (third day). On the fourth day fishes and fearful monsters of the sea rise up and invade the earth, and the sea is set on fire, burning with lurid red flames (fifth day). The fire then spreads to the earth. Trees are devoured (sixth day), an earthquake shakes the buildings (seventh day), and the rocks and the trees are consumed (eighth day). In fear, men hide themselves in holes of the earth (ninth day), and only earth and sky are to be seen (tenth day). On the eleventh day, taking courage, men emerge from the holes in which they have taken shelter, and pray in their extremity. The bones of men in coffins come to life again (twelfth day), while death in the guise of a skeleton comes to claim all mortal flesh (fourteenth day). The stars fall from heaven with a blinding yellow light (thirteenth day), and finally the fire devours everything (fifteenth day), while St. Peter receives the souls of the blessed at the portals of Heaven (tracery, left-hand compartment), and Satan, in the guise of a monster with a fork, helps the souls of the damned into Hell.

This is a real Doom window, the artist having in mind Rolle's concluding lines :

> Thus tells Jerome their tokens fifteen,
> As he in the book of Hebrews had seen,
> But for all the tokens that men shall see,
> That shall no man certain be

"THE PRICK OF CONSCIENCE."

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

NORTH AISLE.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

facing p. 178.

What time Christ shall come to the doom,
So suddenly He down shall come,
For as befel in Noah and Lot's days,
So shall He come, for Luke in the Gospel says
Et sicut factum est in diebus Noe, ita erit in illis diebus.

The date of the window appears to be about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The next window going westwards is almost as remarkable. Its subject is the Six Corporal Acts of Mercy. In date it belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. Its canopies are well developed in character, and those of the side lights each contain two little figures peeping out of the openings above the parapets. The backgrounds of the canopies and of five of the other panels are blue in colour, the remaining four being red. Again there are no borders except the shafts which support the canopies. On the whole, this is the best-preserved window in the church. It is one of the nine the tracery lights of which were cut short in a modern restoration.

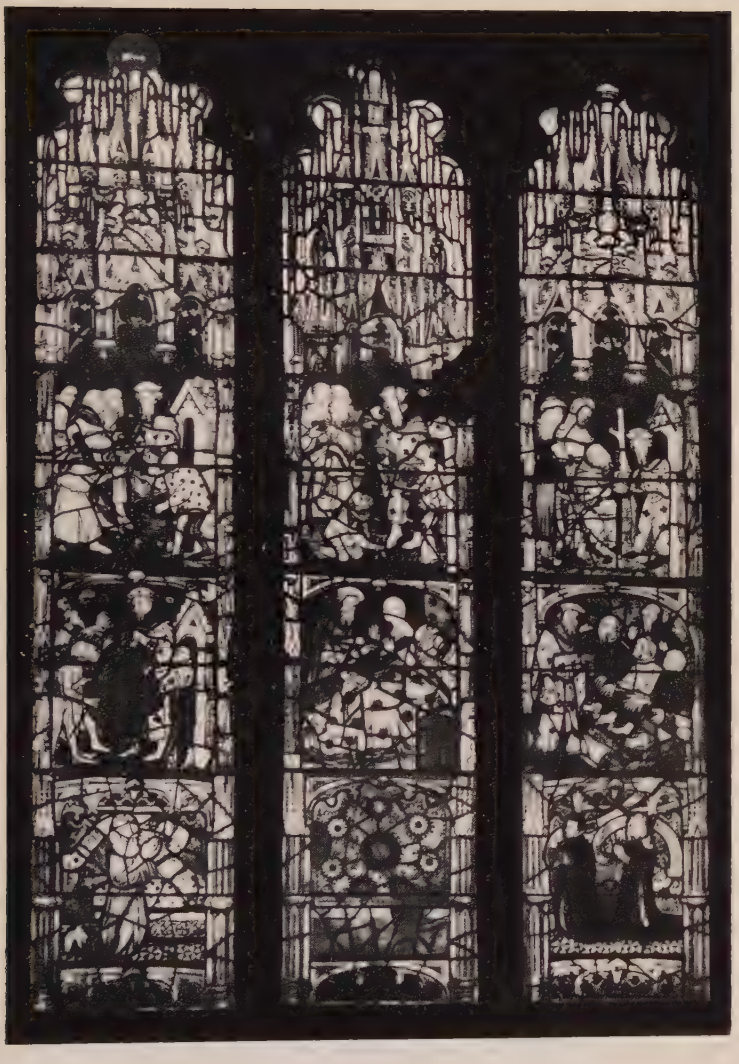
The same benignant figure, from his ermine hat and the ermine of his cloak a king, appears in all the panels in several dresses, and the artist has repeated with true insight the unhappiness of those to whose necessities he ministers. Reading from the top and across, the acts of mercy are: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, entertaining strangers, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, and ministering to the prisoners. The first four scenes are laid outside the house of the benefactor. With both hands, assisted by a servant, he distributes loaves out of a basket at his feet to six hungry men, one of whom leans on a long staff. The same thirsty six hold out bowls into which he pours water out of a jug, while the servant is ready with two extra bowls and jugs. His kindness seems to be equal to the demands made on his hospitality by no fewer than four travellers, who are clad as though on a journey. To one of five inadequately clothed men he is giving a red coat, while the servant stands in the doorway holding another for the next suppliant.

The bedroom in which the sick man lies is not so well furnished as the bedroom shown in the St. William window in York Minster,[1] but there is the same kind of pillow-case, which shows the ends of the pillow. The sick man lies in bed, while a lady by the bedside appears to be explaining to the visitor, who is laying some coins on the bed, the serious nature of the illness. By the side of the bed, which is covered with a white and yellow counterpane or quilt, is a small bedroom chair. The three prisoners in the next compartment have their feet in the stocks, and, as though this was not sufficient, one ankle of each man is chained, and a gaoler with a long staff stands over them. In his right hand the visitor holds a pouch, the ancient form of pocket, but he appears to be giving the prisoners nothing but comfort. A loaf and a jug point to a diet of bread and water.

The left-hand of the three lowest compartments shows a cleric, habited in blue robe and almuce, kneeling at an altar on which is a book open at the words *Sca. Cecilia ora pro nobis. Sca. Lucia ora pro nobis.* The inscription on the scroll round his head is imperfect, and cannot be read. In the third light are the kneeling figures of a man and a woman both dressed in red. The scroll round the head of the man reads : *Ora pro nobis* ; the other scroll is illegible. The middle compartment represents the sun and the seven stars in a blue sky shining over water.

This is one of the most interesting windows in the church, not only for its rare subject-matter, but also because of its illustration of contemporary dress. The woman in the scene taken from a sick-room wears her kerchief indoors, the usual custom in those days, and one which has its modern descendant in the cap of domestic servants and old ladies of the last generation. The travellers who are about to receive hospitality wear close-fitting, comfortable boots, short, wide trousers, white hose, long cloaks, ample neck-covering, and head-

[1] See pp. 108–109.



CORPORAL ACTS OF MERCY.

NORTH AISLE.

ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

facing p. 180.

gear of various forms. Their dress is rich compared to that of the groups of needy persons. The lady donor in the lowest row wears a long flowing dress with narrow sleeves, and her hair is hidden by her kerchief. The almuce worn by the kneeling cleric is similar to those illustrated in several compartments of the St. William window in York Minster. Objects of common life, such as a chair, jugs and bowls, a counterpane, a pillow, a bed, stocks, chains, and staves, have been referred to. All these combine to make this window most attractive, and well worthy of detailed study.

The only other complete and legible window in the church is the next one going westwards, the third, that is, from the east in the north aisle. Two of the figures, those of our Lord and St. Thomas, in the middle and left-hand lights, are so well preserved that one wonders at first why the third has had to be patched up so much. It appears that its original position was in the middle light of the easternmost window in the south aisle, and that, according to Gent, the third figure in the window was in his time that of St. Timothy. Even so, St. Timothy had no connection with the incredulity of St. Thomas, and it is probable that the original position of the two figures of our Lord and St. Thomas was in a former two-light window in the church. St. Thomas is in a white and yellow robe, and the scroll proclaims his words: *Dominus meus et Deus meus* ("My Lord and my God"). Our Lord, though wearing the crown of thorns and showing on His body the marks of suffering, is represented as the risen Lord, with wounded hands and feet. He wears a robe of scarlet. The scroll in this panel read originally: *Mitte manum tuam in latus meum* ("Thrust thy hand into My side"), and *Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt* ("Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed"). The figure of St. Michael is clad in plate armour, and the scroll reads: *Beata Trinitas laudantes animas suscipe* ("O Blessed Trinity, receive the souls which praise Thee").

The canopies are of the second half of the fifteenth century, and each contains two small figures. The window has no tracery lights.

The only portions of the original glazing of the fourth window from the east in the north aisle are the canopies, which are in an excellent state of preservation. The borders are of medieval glass, but are fragmentary, and are not continued upwards beyond the canopies. The remainder of the window is filled with quarries, against which are placed six shields and three roundels. The shields, which have probably been placed in this window from other parts of the church, are as follows :

(1) *Upper Row.*—(*a*) *Azure a bend or between six martlets or* for Luttrell ; (*b*) a curious quartered shield with all four quarters different—*gules a fess or* for Beauchamp, *gules a fret or* for Audley, *gules a bend or* and *argent two bars gules bezantée or ;* (*c*) *gules a chevron argent impaling a fragmentary shield.*

(2) *Lower Row.*—(*a*) *Argent on a fess sable between three cocks' heads erased sable a mitre or* for John Alcock, successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Ely ; (*b*) England and France quartered, with the fourth quarter missing ; (*c*) *gules a fess or between six pears or* for Beauchamp.

The windows in the south wall which contain old glass are three in number. They may be dismissed much more shortly than those in the opposite aisle and at the east end. None has any tracery lights. The one in the south-west corner contains only two figures, both under canopies. The left-hand figure, which stands against a red background, is of an archbishop, said to be St. William of York, who is mitred and in full vestments, which include white chasuble and pallium, and he holds a long cross-staff. The other figure is probably that of St. John, who is dressed in a long, flowing robe of white, against a red background. The scroll runs : *Benedictus sit sermo oris tui* (" Blessed be the words of Thy mouth "). It may be doubted,

from differences in the designs of the canopies over these figures, whether they were originally in one and the same window. As with so many windows in York, small figures appear in the canopy shafts, though in different positions in the two lights. These two figures are better proportioned than those of our Lord and St. Thomas in the north aisle, and the figure of the evangelist is an advance on the drawing of the earlier representation of him in the south choir aisle of York Minster.[1] In the middle light are two modern shields, inserted at the restoration of 1861. In the side lights are figures of donors, four men and two women in all, said to be the figures of the family of Robert Chapman and his wife.

The second window from the east is the only one in this church which contains no old glass. The fragments in the third are worth careful examination by the student of old glass. They cannot be noticed in detail here. They include heads, robes, one being ornamented with the figures of running dogs, canopies, borders, and a few pieces of inscriptions. Together they produce a magnificent mosaic, which is seen at its best with the noonday sun shining through it. According to Gent, the general subject was the medieval Corpus Christi procession in York, organised by the Guild of Corpus Christi.

The glass in the fourth window from the east is almost equally mutilated below the canopy tops, which are the best-preserved portion of the window. Gent recorded in the first two lights the figures of St. John the Baptist and the Blessed Virgin Mary, but only the crowned head of the Virgin remains identifiable. In the third light there are portions of an appearance of our Lord to an archbishop as he elevates the Host, which is stamped with the letters "I H S," at Mass. The Missal is open at the words *Simili modo postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum.* The scroll which proceeds from the hands of our Lord runs: *Accipe*

[1] See p. 68.

hoc de me, hoc quocienscumque feceritis impetrabis. Our Lord is clothed in a robe of white, gold, and ermine. The incident depicted in these fragments is very probably the Mass of St. Gregory.

There is a little old glass in the windows of the west wall.

In the west window of the south aisle there are, in the middle light, borders consisting of fragments of glass mostly of Perpendicular date, with, however, a few pieces in the Decorated style, and, against a background of plain quarries, two shields each within an annulet formed of old glass. The upper shield consists of fragments—if indeed it ever was a shield-of-arms—and the lower is of the old arms of Percy (*or five fusils in fess sable*). The upper annulet contains portions of inscriptions, but nothing to give any clue to the original position or meaning of the glass; and one considerable piece is turned back to front.

There are also old borders in the middle light of the west window in the north aisle. The two coloured quatrefoils which they enclose are of modern glass, while the roundel above is hardly worthy of notice.

The central west window has fragments at the very top of the tracery, which show the mitred head of a bishop.

The glass of this church therefore takes a prominent place in a catalogue of old glass in the City of York. It shows the usual effects of lapse of time, mutilation, restoration, and destruction. At least a quarter of it has disappeared. Some of the remainder—perhaps those portions of it which picture medieval ecclesiastical ceremonies—was broken up and only the canopies left untouched. Apart from St. William of York and St. Christopher, not a single figure of a saint nor a single representation of an incident has survived except those that were taken from the Bible. There was no reason for reformers in any age to destroy the two windows in the north aisle that represent the Prykke of Conscience and the Corporal Acts of Mercy. The surviving

glass of this church is thus a commentary on the attitude adopted towards the doctrines and the practices of the medieval Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is little doubt that had more of the glass in this church and in the city churches generally depicted what were regarded as medieval accretions and superstitions, the present day would have far less old glass in York to enjoy and to point out with pride.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, MICKLEGATE

Within a small circle there are four churches that amongst them contain not far short of half of the medieval glass in the parish churches of the city. They are: All Saints, North Street, St. John and St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Micklegate, and St. Michael, Spurriergate. One of the most interesting churches in the city, which stands within two hundred yards of the last church, namely, All Saints, Pavement, possesses no old glass.

The church of St. John the Evangelist, mainly a Perpendicular church on the site of a church of earlier foundation, has only four windows which demand notice here. One, however, is of more than ordinary merit.

In the south aisle the second window from the east, of plain quarries, has on the inner side of the plain glazing a row of three panels of Decorated grisaille which form a dark belt across the window. The only figure which they contain is that of a cleric who kneels in front of an altar covered with a white cloth and a white frontal, both ornamented with knobs of yellow leaves. The next window eastwards has a little old glass in the tracery.

The east window of the south aisle is a sadly mutilated remnant of a formerly beautiful Decorated three-light window, which apart from other influences was spoilt when it was made to fit Perpendicular stonework. The canopies do not show up well, but at one time they were excellent examples of the trefoil pointed arch under a gable ornamented with crockets and surmounted by

a finial. They show very little white glass, except in the side lights, where the gable is topped by an arcade with buttresses. The subject-matter of the glass in the main lights is St. John the Baptist, who is represented holding and pointing to a Lamb in a large roundel, in the middle light. He appears in the left-hand light as a small infant tightly bound about with clothes, in the arms of his mother, St. Elisabeth, who is accompanied by another lady dressed, like herself, in the long flowing dress of the fourteenth century. In the third light there is a fragmentary representation of the feast of King Herod at which he made the promise fatal to St. John the Baptist. Of the three groups immediately below the large figures, the plainest is in the third light, and it shows, outside a gateway with portcullis, evidently meant for a prison, three figures, one of which, with head bent, is being beheaded. One of the figures is that of a woman, perhaps Salome. The subject of the middle panel on the same level as this is beyond recognition. The other is supposed to represent the baptism of our Lord, but only the figure of Christ standing in the water can be made out. The borders of the three lights consist of fragments, of which nothing can be made. Each light contains two kneeling figures, a man and a woman, at the foot, and in the side light there are remains of a background consisting of yellow lions rampant within quatrefoils.

The glass in the tracery of the window has been preserved better than that in the lights. Five of the six can easily be read. The two over the middle light contain our Lord (right) and our Lady (left) as King and Queen of Heaven. The two over the right-hand light show the lower part of the figure of St. Christopher standing in the water, the remainder of the figure having disappeared, and that of St. Michael, who is represented, as in the south transept of York Minster, with a cross in his hair above his forehead. Of the remaining two tracery lights, the first is mutilated, and the second shows the figure of St. George. Two shields im-

mediately above the middle light, one of the city of York, and the other of Neville (*gules a saltire argent*), complete the contents of the window.

The east window of the north aisle, a four-light window, is by far the best-preserved and most satisfactory window in the church, and one of the most interesting in the city. A clue to its principal contents, to the reason for its insertion, and to its date, is provided by the tomb below, which, only a shadow of its former glory when the shields were coloured, proclaims by means of the modern brass inscription on the moulding of the edges of the slab that under it lies buried Sir Richard Yorke, who, after being Lord Mayor of the city of York in 1469 and 1482, died in the month of April 1498. His shield has been noticed in the glass of St. Martin's Church, Coney Street. He had previously founded a chantry[1] in the church of St. John the Baptist, Hungate, York, a church which no longer exists.

The glass is therefore late in date, and there are no canopies. In this and in one other respect, namely, the kneeling figures of members of the family of the donor, the window is glazed in the style which has been noticed in the windows of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church. The lowest row of panels are an insertion of earlier glass, though not much earlier. Each shows kneeling figures of a man and his wife, but the first and the fifth do not contain their names. The second, third, and fourth group are of John Randman, Richard Toller, and William Grafton, and their wives. The third panel shows also a priest in blue chasuble saying Mass.

The four chief subjects in the window as originally glazed represent: (1) God holding His Son; (2) St. George killing the dragon—a mutilated picture showing only the feet and the legs of the saint below the knee; above, amongst the fragments, a figure with scroll: *Scs. Thoma*; (3) fragments said to have been originally

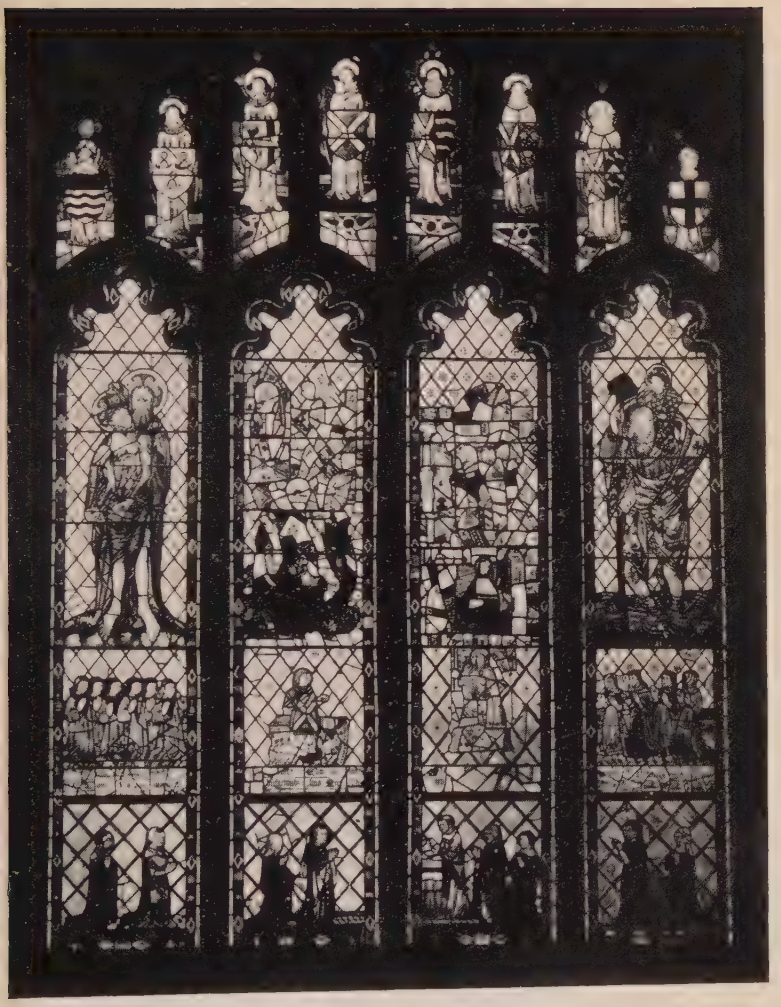
[1] Surtees Society, vol. liii, p. 134.

a panel of the Crucifixion; (4) St. Christopher, the second that has been noticed in this church.

The donors below represent: (1) Sir Richard Yorke (second light), kneeling on a red cushion before an altar on which is a book; he is in plate armour and wears rowel spurs, his surcoat is of blue with a white saltire, representing his coat-of-arms, and his helmet is on the pavement in front of him; (2) his six sons (first light); and (3) his four daughters, each of whom wears a blue dress, has long golden hair, and displays for ornament a jewelled chaplet. The third light, which now contains a late medieval representation of the Blessed Trinity, with the figure of God the Father, the Son on the Cross, and the Dove whispering into the ear of the Son, probably showed at first the figure of Sir Richard's wife. Underneath each pair of these panels is an inscription, one bidding the faithful pray for the soul of Sir Richard, and the other for the soul of Katharine, his wife.

The eight shields in the tracery are all complete, and are held by angels. They are: (1) *argent three bars wavy sable on a chief gules a lion passant guardant or* for the staple of Calais, of which Sir Richard Yorke was Master or Mayor; (2) *argent three horns stringed sable* for Guy Foster, cousin of Sir Richard; (3) *argent a lion rampant sable* for Stapylton (a shield which is in the tracery of the east window of the Stapylton chantry at North Moreton Church, Berkshire), impaling *argent a pale sable*, for Gascoigne; (4) *azure a saltire argent* for York; (5) Yorke impaling *gules three greyhounds argent* for Mauleverer; (6) Yorke impaling *azure sprinkled with three roses and crosslets argent* for Darcy; (7) Yorke impaling *gules on a chevron argent three mullets sable between three asses argent* for Askwith; (8) the city of York. The impaled shields represent the family connection of members of the Yorke family, which cannot be explained here.

The borders of the window are complete and of uniform design. They show alternately a gold crown



EAST WINDOW OF NORTH AISLE.

ST JOHN.

facing p. 188.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

on a blue ground and a *fleur-de-lis* inside a diamond on a red ground.

The will of Sir Richard,[1] the codicil of which he signed, proves him to have been a man of substance and standing. He held property in Barwick-in-Elmet, Holtby, Heslington, Flaxton, Barmby-on-the-Moor, Dringhouses, Sledmere, Normanby, and Dunnington, in the county of York, and at Newcastle-on-Tyne. His son Christopher was a doctor of laws. His will mentions two bastard sons, George and Giles.

ST. MARTIN-CUM-GREGORY

A walk of little more than a minute from St. John's Church brings the visitor to the church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, on Micklegate Hill, which possesses ancient glass in a dozen windows. The church is of early foundation, and in the fifteenth century was rebuilt from the middle eastwards, there being in the north aisle as a result four narrow Perpendicular windows. The other three windows in this aisle contain Decorated tracery. In the opposite aisle the whole of the stone-work of the windows is Perpendicular, there being from the fifteenth century onwards seven large three-light windows of this character in this aisle. During the early part of the sixteenth century the westernmost window was removed to make room for a doorway, now blocked up; and a small Renaissance two-light window, with only one compartment in the tracery, which contains a fragment of old glass, was placed above. The stone frame of the displaced window stands in the churchyard at the west end of the south aisle.

This short sketch of some of the changes which were made in the church gives some guidance to the student of the glass. The only window which is nearly filled with Decorated glass is at the east end of the south aisle; and in Gent's time the three chief figures were

[1] Printed in the Surtees Society series, vol. liii, pp. 134–7.

in two windows in the north aisle of the church. The central figure was in the west window, and the other two in the first window from the west.

The central figure in this window is of St. Martin, one of the patron saints of the church, dividing his cloak with the beggar. The whole group has suffered very little either from age or from removal. St. Martin is in plate armour, without spurs, his armour above the knee being hidden by his green robe and blue cloak, the latter of which he has thrown over the beggar and is cutting with his sword as he looks back. There is nothing to identify the other two figures in the window; one, according to Gent, was St. Mary Magdalene. Both are excellently drawn, and are placed against red backgrounds ornamented with golden *fleur-de-lis*. The canopies and the borders are as complete as the figures. The gables, ornamented with crockets and finials, proceed out of the side shafts, and the upper finial is supported by an upper gable. On each side of the lower part of the upper finial in each light is the letter N, which may be a merchant's mark. The borders display the *fleurs-de-lis* and the leopards of England. The tracery also contains Decorated glass in the two lower of the three compartments, which show kneeling figures of angels censing, the censers being above the heads of angels. The topmost compartment was probably filled with a figure of our Lord; it now contains modern glass, which probably dates from the time of the removal of the old glass here within the last sixty or seventy years.

Below the three large Decorated subjects are three insertions of later glass—in the middle light modern quarries, in the left-hand light the kneeling figure of a man in plate armour, who wears gauntlets, and in the remaining light the kneeling figure of a lady. Both figures are on white glass, and no coloured glass is used except two modern patches of blue on the lady's dress.

At the foot of the reputed figure of St. Mary Magdalene is a shield, *or on a chevron argent three attires of*

EAST WINDOW OF SOUTH AISLE.

ST. MARTIN-CUM-GREGORY.

facing p. 190.

[*Photographed by William Watson.*

a stag or impaling *azure a cross patonce argent between four martlets argent.*

To proceed with the Decorated glass, in the five-light window of the north aisle, behind the organ, a little Decorated glass has been assembled which deserves a more prominent position. In the middle light there is a good Decorated gable; in the first light a panel which shows a female saint, dressed in a green robe, kneeling before a figure which has disappeared, but which, from the fragment of a pierced foot, may have been that of our Lord; and, in the fifth light, a fragmentary panel showing a saint in gold-and-green robe kneeling before our Lord, most of Whose figure has remained, including both feet, one of them pierced. The shields occupy central portions in the second and fourth lights. One is mutilated, and the other, also far from perfect, probably was *or a bend azure.*

The setting of these survivals of Decorated glass is far from satisfactory, consisting of modern quarries of various colours arranged between coloured borders.

In the second window from the west in the north aisle there are two well-preserved Decorated panels in the two side lights. The left-hand light contains the figure of St. John the Baptist, who holds the Lamb in a disc; the other, that of St. Katherine, who holds a sharp-toothed wheel. Both these are under handsome Decorated canopies of uncommon design. From two short white shafts which are placed next to the borders a yellow buttress runs to a larger yellow shaft, from which spring the canopy and the green gable ornamented with crockets and a finial which are over the heads of the figures. Like the figures, the shafts and the canopies are in an excellent state of preservation. The borders are not distinguished for their beauty in an age which was productive of good designs for borders, but they were well restored with the remainder of the window in 1899. Of the seven tracery compartments, the four smaller ones at the sides contain Decorated glass, the three larger being filled with Peckitt's roundels.

More Decorated fragments are to be seen in the first window from the west in the north aisle, which in Gent's time contained three Resurrection scenes—the Resurrection itself in the middle light, and St. Thomas and our Lord, and St. Mary Magdalene and our Lord, in the side lights. All the glass in the side lights has disappeared except fragments of the borders, which are found in all three lights, and are of the same pattern as the borders in the last window described. The only survivor of the original panels is a mutilated collection of glass at the top of the middle light, which shows portions of an archbishop holding a model of a church—probably an insertion from somewhere else —two kneeling angels, and parts of two soldiers in plate armour. The angels and the soldiers appear to be portions of the original panel. The middle panel contains fragments of old glass arranged in roundels, while all seven compartments in the tracery possess old fragments.

The remainder of the pre-Reformation glass in the church is Perpendicular, and is, alas ! very mutilated. The fourth from the east in the north aisle, the lights of which are now filled with Peckitt's glass, which is referred to below, had at one time in the tracery figures of archbishop and bishops. Not a single complete figure remains, though from the outlines the size of the original figures can be determined. A fragment of a hand, or a mitre, or a foot is all that has come down to us. In the lower row of tracery figures, scrolls in the fourth and fifth compartments proclaim that Egbert and Albert, both pre-Conquest Archbishops of York, were represented in the list.

The other three windows eastwards in this aisle each have some Perpendicular glass. The third from the east still retains in the middle light a mutilated panel which represented God, holding Eve by the hand, leading her and her husband into the Garden of Eden. The brown robe of the Father and the nude figures of Adam and Eve can easily be distinguished. Fragments

of old glass are scattered about this window. One Georgian and Protestant enthusiast scratched on a panel in the first light: "I hope this may be a place for true Protestants to resort to and never to be ruled by Papists. God bless King George ye 2nd and Billy of Cumberland, whome God long preserve." Another panel tells us that the window was repaired in 1747.

The second window from the east contains old glass

THE HOLY CITY, THE RIVER OF LIFE.
(East Window, York Minster.)

in the tracery, in the heads of the lights, and in three fragmentary panels, which are all that is left of glass which originally, according to Gent, depicted the Fall and the murder of Abel. Of the three similar panels in the next window, the first two can be made to represent the subjects as Gent saw them—in the first, a portion of a boat and two figures, one of whom looks downwards on the other, bring to mind St. Peter's attempt to walk on the sea; in the second, an old man, a young man, and a small ram or pig recall Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac. The subject of the third was the worship of the golden calf; but

beyond fragments of figures and of a small white animal with a golden covering on its back nothing intelligible can be made out. This window has no old glass in the tracery.

Only the three windows in the opposite aisle nearest the east remain to be noticed. The glass in them is richer in colour than the glass in the south aisle, but they are hardly more complete. Each of the nine lights except the middle light of the middle window contains fragments just below the head of the window; each, however, contains one panel besides. The figure of a lady, now very faintly drawn, whose long hair reaches to her feet and completely covers her body, recalls the story of St. Mary of Egypt, whose hair grew long enough for clothing when her garments dropped off. In the third light of the next window a white figure of St. Agnes can be seen, at whose feet is a lamb standing on its hind legs, with forepaws on her. The only other noteworthy feature of these windows is to be seen in the third light of the third window from the east, where, in the middle of fragments, two small seventeenth-century panels, representing the Kiss of Betrayal and the fight between David and Goliath, form a curious variation from medieval glass.

No account of the stained glass of this church is complete without mention of William Peckitt, who lived in Micklegate, and whose glass is to be seen in three of the windows of the north aisle. The first from the west contains two roundels, each representing a many-pointed coloured star. In the next window the middle light is occupied by the figure of a tall woman who stands at a pedestal on which rests an urn. Above, in the head of the window, is the figure of a little child pointing upwards. The pedestal crowns a panel which contains an inscription to the effect that in the church were buried Anne the infant daughter of Peckitt, who died on April 30, 1765, and another daughter, Charlotte, who died on April 14, 1796, aged twenty. Peckitt's own memorial in the glass is in the

third window from the west. The middle panel is glazed with an inscription, of which the following is a portion :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF WILLIAM PECKITT OF
THIS CITY, GLASS PAINTER AND STAINER,
WHO DIED 14 OCTR. 1795
AGED 64
AND WHOSE REMAINS ARE DEPOSITED
IN THE CHANCEL.

The side lights are glazed with coloured glass arranged in rectilinear pieces to form a regular pattern, the design of Peckitt's widow, Charlotte, in the year 1796.

ST. MARY, BISHOPHILL, JUNIOR

This church, which is so called to distinguish it from the neighbouring church of St. Mary, Bishophill, Senior, is one of the oldest in the city, as the early masonry in the tower attests. It contains very little medieval glass, quite the smallest quantity in any of the churches which have been noticed in this survey. This glass is to be found in the tracery of each of the two windows on the north wall of the vestry, which occupies the eastern part of the north aisle and screens off the organ console. Reading from the west, the first window shows representations of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and the Archangel Michael weighing souls. The Blessed Virgin is in a long robe of white ermine, and is sheathed in gold feathers. The next window has small figures of an archbishop blessing and a bishop who holds his cross-staff. All the glass is of simple design of white, yellow stain, and dark brown enamel, and appears to belong to the late part of the fourteenth century.

APPENDIX

(*Note that the words in italics represent heraldic shields.*)

YORK MINSTER

South Transept

East Aisle. Commencing at the north end. East Wall :

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Wolveden.	*St. Peter.*	*St. Paul.*	*St. William of York.*	*Bryan.*
St. William of York.	St. Michael the Archangel.	St. Gabriel.	St. John the Baptist and two kneeling figures.	The Virgin and Child.

South Wall :

(1)	(2)
St. George.	*St. Oswald.*
St. George.	St. Oswald.

(Both windows are of modern glass.)

South Wall. Middle.

Circular
Rose and Sun window.

(1)	(2)	(3)
Our Lord in Glory.		
St. William of York.	St. Peter. St. Paul.	St. Wilfrid.
St. William of York.	*St. Peter. St. Paul.*	*St. Wilfrid.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Abraham (Faith).	Solomon (Truth).	Moses (Righteousness).	St. Peter. *See of York.*

(All these four are the work of William Peckitt.)

West Aisle. South Wall :

(1)	(2)
Panel of thirteenth-century grisaille.	Panel of thirteenth-century grisaille.
St. Sampson.	St. William of York.
See of York.	*St. William.*

(Both windows of modern glass.)

West Wall. Two windows illustrating the *Te Deum*.

(1)	(2)
"We praise Thee, O God."	The Descent of the Holy Ghost. ("Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.")
"To Thee all angels cry aloud."	"O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine heritage."
The Lamb breaking one of the seven seals.	"All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting."
"Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory."	"O Lord, have mercy upon us."
"Thine honourable, true, and only Son."	"We worship Thy Name ever world without end."

North Transept

West Aisle. Commencing at the south end. West Wall:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
[Scenes from the life of Caleb.]	[Scenes from the life of Joshua.]	[Scenes from the life of Gideon.]	[Scenes from the life of David.]
Gift of Achsah to Othniel.	Triumph of Joshua after his conquest of Canaan.	Presentation of the ear-rings.	Celebration of the victory over the Philistines.
Othniel before Hebron.	Submission of the five Kings at Makkedah.	Destruction of Penuel by Gideon.	Goliath's head brought to Saul.
Sons of Anak expelled from Hebron.	The Gibeonites making a league with Joshua.	The three hundred blowing the trumpets.	Slaying of Goliath.
Gift of Hebron to Caleb.	Outside the city of Jericho.	Appearance of an angel to Gideon.	David anointed King by Samuel.

(These four windows were inserted in 1861.)

North Wall:

(1)	(2)
The Judgment of Solomon.	
The Giving of the Law by Moses.	A late fifteenth-century representation of the united Roses of York and Lancaster.
Samuel judging Israel.	

(This window was inserted in 1865.)

North Wall.

In the gable are five modern grisaille windows.

Below, the five windows known as the Five Sisters. At the foot of the middle light, a panel of twelfth-century glass representing the visit of Habakkuk to Daniel in the den of lions.

EAST AISLE. Commencing at the north end :

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Latimer.	*Edwin.*	*Archbishop Scrope.*	*St. Paul.*	*Wolveden.*
St. Peter.	St. Paul.	St. Lawrence.	St. Stephen.	St. Nicholas.
St. Peter.	*St. Paul.*	*St. Lawrence.*	*St. Stephen.*	*City of York.*

(These five windows are either restorations of, or substitutions for, the original fifteenth-century glass.)

THE NAVE

(Key to the windows.)

SOUTH AISLE. Commencing at the east end :

First Window

In the quatrefoils, Peckitt's glass, dated 1782.

England with a label of three points.	*Greenfield* (?).	*Giffard.*
Priest saying Mass (?).	Cripple cured by St. Nicholas.	St. Nicholas and two other people.
Three children restored to life by St. Nicholas.	St. Nicholas before the Emperor.	Lady kneeling before a man who is seated.
	Crucifixion.	

(The connection of some of these subjects with St. Nicholas is not clear.)

Second Window

The date 1782.
Legs and feet standing on a snake.

Modern glass.		Modern glass.
The Annunciation.	The Nativity.	St. Edmund, carrying an arrow (an inserted panel).
(?).	Edward the Confessor giving a ring to a beggar.	(?).
(?).	Pope on horseback crossing a bridge (possibly intended to represent St. William of York).	St. Margaret killing the dragon ; and another figure.
(?).	St. John the Evangelist (?) ; larger figure ; St. Peter.	The Annunciation (?)—a sixteenth-century insertion.

Third Window

Figure (head an insertion).

St. Katherine tortured.

St. Margaret trampling on a dragon.

Edmund of Woodstock.

(?).

Attempt at the martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist.

(?).

Fitzalan of Bedale.

John of Eltham.

St. John before Domitian (?). Shield.

Christ before Pilate.

(?).

Holand.

(?).

Fourth Window

The Crucifixion.

The Blessed Virgin Mary and two other women.

St. John the Evangelist, another man, and a soldier.

France.

England.

Castile and Leon (?).

Martyrdom of St. Stephen.

Martyrdom of St. Andrew.

Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist.

(*Old*) *Mauley.*

Bek.

Mauley.

Robert and Peter (IV) de Mauley.

Stephen and Peter (V) de Mauley.

Edmund and John de Mauley.

Furnival (?).

Wake.

Vavasour.

Fifth Window

In the quatrefoils, Peckitt's glass.

In the lights, a representation of a Jesse tree. Only the following figures can be identified: Esdras (first light, third from top), Ezekiel (first light, second from foot), and Daniel (third light, second from top). The elongated vesica in the middle light contained in Torre's time a representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The date, 1789, at the foot of the middle light, is the date of Peckitt's restoration of the window.

Sixth Window

St. Peter.

St. James.

St. John the Evangelist.

St. Stephen.

St. Christopher.

St. Lawrence.

Percy quartering Lucy.

Gules three chevrons argent.

Vavasour.

Seventh Window

Of white glass.

WEST WALL.

Window in the South Aisle

St. John the Baptist.

A female saint.		St. Clare.
Bishop.		Bishop.
The Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Crucifixion.	St. John.
	A donor (?).	

West Window

Our Lord as King of Heaven.				Our Lady as Queen of Heaven.	
The Archangel Gabriel. (The Annunciation.)	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Child. (The Nativity.)	St. Joseph.	The Resurrection (two panels).	The Ascension (two panels).

Two Apostles.	Two Apostles.	St. John the Evangelist.	St. Peter.	St. Paul.	St. James.	Apostle.	Two Apostles.

In the lowest row, eight archbishops.

Window above the West Doors

This glass, contained in eight compartments, is not the original glass, which was destroyed in the fire of 1840. It is mostly of fifteenth-century date, and, as may be expected, it is only fragmentary. The most complete figure is that of a King, in the left-hand of the two upper of the three larger compartments in the circle, who holds three arrows, and is doubtless intended to represent St. Edmund. There are also fragments of figures of angels and of others. In the left-hand of the two lower of the three smaller compartments in the circle are two nude figures, possibly portions of a Doom scene. The two compartments of glass in the spandrels are of later date, probably the middle of the nineteenth century.

Window in the North Aisle

Our Lord enthroned.

Crucifixion of St. Peter.		Saint.
St. Stephen.	The Virgin and Child.	St. Lawrence.
St. Katherine.		St. Margaret.
	A donor (?).	

NORTH AISLE. Commencing at the west end :

First Window

Of white glass.

Second Window

Fragments.

An Angel.		An Angel.
Crossed swords.		Crossed swords.
The Annunciation.	The Nativity.	The Adoration of the Magi.
Ingram.	*Ingram impaling Greville* (?).	*Greville.*

(These three shields belong to the end of the seventeenth century.)

The Virgin and Child.	Fragments, including mitred figures. *Gules two keys in saltire or and argent.*	A female saint.

Third Window

In the quatrefoils, Peckitt's glass, 1779.

Martyrdom of St. Paul.	Our Lord enthroned.	Martyrdom of St. Peter.

Below, in all three lights, representations of acts of penance.

Fourth Window

Dalby and fragments
(probably originally the figure of our Lord).

St. Peter.		St. Paul.
Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.	Martyrdom of St. Denys.	Martyrdom of St. Eleutherius (?).
Donor.	Virgin and Child.	Two kneeling figures.

Fifth Window

Our Lord
in Glory.

Below, two figures holding emblems of the Passion.

The Descent from the Cross (?).	The Crucifixion.	The Betrayal.
Nobleman on a journey.	St. Peter, holding a church and a key.	Lady on a journey.

Along the foot of this window are three rare subjects in the borders : (1) a monkey's funeral ; (2) a fox stealing a hen ; (3) a hunting scene.

Sixth Window

St. Peter.

Saint.		St. Paul.

In the upper row, the collapse of Ouse Bridge as St. William is crossing it.

Shaping a bell.	Richard Tunnoc presenting the window to St. William.	Casting a bell.

Seventh Window

The soul of St. Katherine received into heaven.

Below, the funeral of St. Katherine.

The Empire.	*England.*	*France.*
Visited in prison.	Tortured.	Executed.
Provence.	*The King of Rome.*	*Castile and Leon.*
Before the Emperor.	Converts the philosophers.	The philosophers burnt.
Jerusalem.	The donor, Peter de Dene.	*Navarre.*

In the borders of the middle light are eight figures in heraldic surcoats or dresses: the Kings and Queens of England and France, four earls (Lancaster and Gloucester, Surrey and Warwick), and four barons (Ros and Mowbray, Clifford and Percy).

CLERESTORY ON THE SOUTH SIDE. Commencing at the east end:

First Window—The Resurrection

Our Lord and St. Thomas	The Walk to Emmaus.	Our Lord and St. Mary Magdalene.	The Breaking of Bread at Emmaus.	Our Lord amongst the "souls in prison."
Hastings.	*Vavasour.*	*Etton.*	*St. Edmund.*	*Latimer.*

Second Window

			Impaled Shield.	*St. Paul.*
Vavasour.	*Clare.*	*Percy.*	*England.*	*Mauley.*

Third Window

A Bishop (a sixteenth-century panel).	(?).	(?).	St. Peter and St. Paul.	(?).
Sir Edmund Mauley.	*England.*	*Sir John Mauley.*	*Sir Robert. Mauley.*	*Percy quartering Lucy* (originally this place was occupied by another Mauley shield-of-arms).

Fourth Window

In the tracery, much Early English glass.

Old Mauley.	(?).	*England.*	*Ulphus* (?).	*England.*

Fifth Window

Horse and cart, with driver.	(?).	(?).	A ship and a group of people (a sixteenth-century panel).	(?).
Clifford.	*Colville.*	*England.*	*Wake.*	*FitzWalter.*

Sixth Window

The subjects are not clear.

Lascelles (?).	*Deyville.*	*England.*	*Furnival.*	*Meynell.*

Seventh Window

(?).	(?).	Group including a Bishop (sixteenth century).	(?).	(?).
Hok.	*FitzHugh.*	*England.*	*Ryther.*	*Fauconberg.*

Eighth Window

Of plain glass.

CLERESTORY ON THE NORTH SIDE. Commencing at the west end :

First Window

Of plain glass.

Second Window

Panel of a Jesse (twelfth century).	Woman holding child, and two men (a sixteenth-century panel).	St. Margaret killing the Dragon.	St. Lucy.	St. Agnes (?).
A quartered shield.	*Dacre.*	*England.*	*Old Percy.*	*Earl of Cornwall* (?).

Third Window

Archbishop.	St. Edmund.	St. Peter.	King and Bishop.	Archbishop.

Inscription below : FRATER ROBERTUS DE . . . (AB)BAS DE BARDENE(Y) . . . FIERI.

Eure.	*FitzRanulph.*	*England.*	*Neville.*	*Bulmer.*

(Robert de Waynflete was Abbot of Bardeney early in the fourteenth century.)

Fourth Window

The Nativity (?).	The Annunciation.	The Resurrection.	The Ascension.	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
Man and woman counting coins at a table.	*Warenne.*	*England.*	A man in a tub ; a woman near.	Seated figure.

Fifth Window

(?).	Hell's cauldron (?).	(?)	(?)	(?).
Constable of Flamborough.	*England.*	*St. Paul.*	*Ros.*	*FitzWalter.*

Sixth Window

(?).	A woman at a shrine.	A woman kneeling at a shrine and holding a shield.	Group (a sixteenth-century panel).	St. James (?).
John of Eltham.	*Mowbray.*	*England.*	*Willoughby* (?).	*Neville.*

Seventh Window

(?).	(?).	Fragments.	(?).	(?).
Valence.	*England.*	*Percy quartering Lucy.*	*De Burgh.*	*Old Clare.*

Eighth Window

The Annunciation.	The Nativity.	The Resurrection.	The Ascension.	The Coronation of the Virgin.
Mowbray.	*England.*	*Neville.*	*Warenne.*	*FitzHugh.*

Vestibule

Starting on the left of the entrance, reading the windows from left to right, taking the walls in the following order: west, north, south, and east, and finishing at the entrance.

West Wall.

(1)

St. Olave.	St. Oswald.
King Edward the Confessor.	A King.
Fitzalan of Bedale.	*Latimer.*

(None of the scrolls remain, and the only authority for the identity of the saints is a previous writer.)

(2)

In the tracery, *Luttrell.*

Four Kings and four Queens, whose identity is uncertain.

(3)

In the tracery, *Clare.*

The lights contain figures of ten female saints, of whom only the Virgin and Child (upper row, middle light) and St. Katherine (lower row, second light) can be identified.

The coats-of-arms are of *Ros, Clare, England, Warenne,* and *Old Percy.*

North Wall.

(1)

In the tracery, *England.*

St. John the Baptist.	An angel.	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.	An angel.	A King.
St. Peter, who holds a tabernacle.	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Crucifixion.	St. John the Evangelist.	St. Paul.
The head of a Bishop.	The head of a King.	A head.	The head of a King.	The head of a Bishop.

(2)

St. John the Evangelist.	St. Peter.	Our Lord.	St. Paul.	St. Matthew.
Saint.	St. Thomas.	The Virgin and Child.	St. Andrew.	St. James.

(Most of the names of the saints are given on the authority of Torre.)

South Wall.

A Bishop.	An Archbishop.	Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1234 to 1245.	A Bishop.	(Fifth light blind.)

St. Stephen. St. Lawrence. St. Robert. St. Wenceslaus.

(Most of the names are given on the authority of Torre.)

East Wall.

(1)

(First light blind.)	St. Thomas.	Our Lord.	Crowned lady holding a church.
	St. Mary Magdalene.	Our Lord.	Crowned lady whose crown is falling to the ground.

This window represents the triumph of the Christian Church over the Jewish Church through the Resurrection.

(2)

Isaiah.	Abraham.	Moses.
David.	Jeremiah.	Daniel.
Neville.	*Percy.*	*Dreux.*

The Chapter House

Commencing with the window to the left as the building is entered. (Until the windows have been taken out and cleaned, it will be impossible to give full or reliable readings of their contents.)

(1)

North-west Window—St. Katherine

In the tracery, the old shields are of Fitzalan of Bedale and Greystoke.

Martyrdom.	Blessed by Christ.	Tortured.	[1] Group of people.	Angels bear her soul to Heaven.
Beaten.	Charged.	Scourged.	(?).	Emperor on horseback.
Three figures, including one crowned.	[1] Group of people.	Charged before the Emperor.	(?).	(?).
In prison.	(?).	At a heathen temple.	(?).	(?).

(2)

North Window—St. Thomas of Canterbury

		England. *Clare.*		
	Clifford. *Clare.*		*England.* *Warenne.*	
	In one of the cinquefoils, *Warenne.*			
Altar and figures—possibly the murder scene.	(?).	(?).	(?).	(?).
Lady at the saint's shrine.	(?).	Sick folk at the shrine.	Appearance of an angel.	(?).
[2] Two figures.	Altar with shield-of-arms on frontal.	Figure at the shrine.	Part of a wheeled cart (possibly the saint's funeral cart).	(?).
	(?).	The saint blessing.	(?).	

At the foot of the window :

St. Lawrence.	St. Stephen.	Martyrdom of St. John.	St. Paul.	St. Andrew.

[1] Possibly one of these groups represents the saint converting the philosophers.

[2] Said to represent the rescue of William, a workman of Churchdown, who was buried under some earth while at work. A woman dreamed that he was alive, and she invoked the help of St. Thomas. Her dream and her prayer led to the rescue of William alive.

(3)

North-east Window—Our Lord

England. *Warenne.*		*England.* *England with a label* (for Lancaster ?).		*England.* *Ros.*
In the cinquefoils, *Clare* and *Neville.*				
(?).	Christ with some of His disciples.	The Magi.	(?).	Men carrying something on their shoulders.
(?).	Figure and some (jumbled) buildings—Christ looking over Jerusalem ?	(?).	(?).	The journey of the Holy Family into Egypt.
Raising of Lazarus.	The Magi before Herod.	An altar or a table—the Last Supper ?	(?).	Figures on horseback—return of the Magi ?
The Annunciation.	Two figures—Visit of the Blessed Virgin Mary to St. Elizabeth (?).	(?).	Figures, with a chair or a throne.	(?).

(4)

East Window—Our Lord

England. *Beauchamp.*		*England.* *Marshall.*	*England with a label* (Lancaster ?). *Bulmer.*	
The Ascension.	The Descent from the Cross.	The Coronation of the Virgin.	The Last Trumpet.	The Day of Pentecost.
Resurrection Scene—Angel and women.	The Resurrection—Jesus and two angels.	The Resurrection.	St. Thomas.	Christ riding into Jerusalem.
The Scourging of Jesus.	Jesus a prisoner.	The Crucifixion.	The Burial.	Jesus carrying His cross.
Casting out devils.	Ear of Malchus healed.	The agreement for the Betrayal.	Appearance of Jesus to St. Mary Magdalene.	Appearance to the Eleven.

This window is a " restoration " of the original window.

(5)

South-east Window—St. Peter

England.
England with a label
(Lancaster ?).

England.
Montfort.

England.
England within a border of fleurs-de-lis
(John of Eltham ?).

In the cinquefoils, *Ros* (twice).

Dream.	Baptism of Cornelius.	(?).	Soldier and kneeling figure.	Martyrdom.
(?).	(?).	Before the Governor.	(?).	(?).
(?).	(?).	Healing of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful.	Restoration of the lame man to his friends.	Threefold restoration of St. Peter.
The saint preaching.	(?).	(?).	(?).	Casting the net.

(6)

South Window—St. Paul

England.
Lacy.

England.
Baliol.

England.
Greystoke.

In the cinquefoils, *Percy* and *Vescy*.

Elymas smitten with blindness (two figures).	St. Paul laying his hands on the people of Ephesus (?).	Shipwreck at Melita.	St. Paul and the Viper.	Martyrdom in the presence of Nero.
Evil spirit cast out of a girl at Philippi.	Before the magistrates.	Scourging of the Apostle.	Deliverance from prison.	Magistrates begging St. Paul to go away.
Outside city wall—the saint and soldiers at city gate.	(?).	St. Paul stoned.	Dragged out of the city as dead.	Recovery.
(?).	Escape in a basket.	(?).	(?).	Preaching.

(7)

South-west Window

France.
Tateshale.

France.
Fitzalan of Bedale.

France.
Old Percy.

In one of the cinquefoils, *argent a fretty gules.*

[St. Denys (?).]	[St. Margaret.]	[St. Nicholas.]	[St. John the Baptist.]	[St. Edmund.]
Martyred.	Martyred.	Three youths, saved.	Salome with the saint's head.	Head found in a wood.
On a journey (?).	Dragon slain.	Martyred.	Martyred.	(?).
(?).	Saint standing on the dragon.	The saint in a ship.	Dance of Salome before Herod.	Martyred.
Enthroned— sun above head.	(?).	(?).	Imprisoned.	Horseman.

Choir

North Aisle. Commencing at the west end :

(1)

St. Paul.	Virgin and Child.	St. Peter.
Conversion of St. Paul, who is falling from his horse.	The Annunciation.	St. Peter walking on the sea.
St. Paul preaching.	The Adoration of the Magi.	St. Peter in prison.
Martyrdom of St. Paul.	Figure of Archbishop Bowet, and his shield-of-arms.	Martyrdom of St. Peter.

This window was the gift of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, from 1407 to 1423.

(2)

St. John of Beverley.	St. Thomas of Canterbury (according to Torre).	St. William of York.
St. John elevating the Host at Mass.	A King and others.	St. William crossing Ouse Bridge.
King Athelstan laying his sword on an altar.	(?).	(?).
Herebald falling from his horse (?).	Martyrdom of St. Thomas (?).	Consecration (or enthronement) of St. William.

This window was the gift of Thomas Parker, canon of York from 1410 to 1423.

(3)

St. Chad.	St. Paulinus.	St. Nicholas.
Wulfhere, King of Mercia, killing his son.	Consecration (or enthronement) of St. Paulinus.	Treasurer of St. Nicholas relieving the poor.
Conversion of Wulfhere by St. Chad.	St. Paulinus preaching to the Court of King Edwin (?).	(?).
Death of St. Chad.	(?).	St. Nicholas restoring to life three children.

This window was the gift of Robert Wolveden, canon and treasurer from 1426 to 1432.

(4)

The St. William Window

In the tracery, at the summit, the Blessed Virgin Mary and our Lord flanked by angels. Below, Archbishops and Kings alternately.

101. A woman undergoing ordeal by fire, the action being represented as taking place at the shrine.	102. The same woman showing her hand to a justice.	103. The same woman returning thanks at the shrine.	104. A man in prison, in fetters, asking the aid of St. William.	105. The same man offering his fetters at the shrine.
96. A dropsical man at the shrine.	97. A man hanging tapestry.	98. A stone falls on him.	99. The same man returning thanks for his recovery, and carrying the stone.	100. A dropsical woman at the shrine.
91. A man in bed having his leg measured.	92. A man offering at the shrine a wax model of his leg, which has been cured.	93. Ouse Bridge breaking as the feretory containing the bones of St. William is carried across it.	94. A lame boy healed in the cathedral as the feretory is carried back.	95. A leprous woman at the shrine.
86. A drowned child being taken out of the Ouse.	87. The same child, restored to life, brought to the shrine to return thanks to St. William.	88. A cripple cured by creeping under the feretory (of St. John of Beverley).	89. Opening of the tomb of St. William in the nave before his Translation.	90. A dumb woman at the shrine.
81. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and St. David's, and others singing through the night before the Translation.	82. Subject not clear. (The dumb woman—see row above—in bed desiring to be taken to the shrine.)	83. A stone falling on the head of a man asleep on the pulpit stair during the Translation.	84. The injured man rising unhurt.	85. The Translation.

76. A paralysed man (?).	77. King Edward I and Queen Eleanor invited to be present at the ceremony of the Translation.	78. The King falling to the ground and injuring himself.	79. The King before an image of St. William, giving thanks for his recovery.	80. The King and the Queen continuing their journey to York.
71. A deformed old man being carried to the shrine.	72. A paralysed man at the shrine.	73. A deaf woman at the shrine.	74. A crippled man at the shrine.	75. A woman with withered arms at the shrine.
66. A dropsical man at the shrine.	67. A deformed boy at the shrine.	68. Herebald falling from his horse. (Cured by St. John of Beverley.)	69. A woman who has been poisoned.	70. A poisoned woman at the shrine.
61. The devil capturing a young scholar, who is rescued (by St. John of Beverley).	62. St. William restoring sight to a blind girl.	63. Lame woman at the shrine.	64. A man eating mortar from the tomb as a cure.	65. A dumb girl at the shrine.
56. Fragments.	57. Fragments.	58. Fragments.	59. Fragments.	60. Fragments.
51. Two combatants, Ralph and Besing.	52. Ralph and Besing taking the oaths before the combat.	53. The combat.	54. Besing losing an eye.	55. Besing receiving a new eye at the shrine.
46. Burial of William.	47. Drowned boy restored to life.	48. St. William appearing to shipwrecked sailors.	49. A dropsical woman brought to the shrine in a cart by a peasant.	50. The same woman at the shrine.
41. William celebrating Mass on Trinity Sunday, 1154.	42. William, sick of a fever, prophesies his death.	43. Extreme Unction being administered to him.	44. The body lying in state after death.	45. Enthronement feast.
36. William met by the Dean and others on his way to York.	37. William received at Micklegate Bar by the Mayor and others.	38. William and his companions crossing Ouse Bridge.	39. William received at the west end of the Minster.	40. Enthronement as Archbishop.
31. Pope Eugenius and Archbishop Murdac dying on the same day.	32. Journey of William to Rome to plead his cause before Pope Anastasius.	33. Pope Anastasius bestowing the pallium on William.	34. William crossing the Channel on his way home.	35. William, wearing the pallium, received by Henry, Bishop of Winchester.

26. William in exile, received with marks of honour.	27. William presented to the King of Sicily.	28. William anointed by the Holy Ghost.	29. William visited in his exile by strangers.	30. William's approaching restoration revealed to him.
21. Pope Eugenius presiding at the Council of Rheims.	22. Pope Eugenius delivering instructions to the Dean and Chapter to elect another as Archbishop.	23. Formal deposition of William.	24. Enthronement of William's successful rival, Henry Murdac.	25. William in exile, received by friends.
16. Enthronement of William as Archbishop.	17. Pope Celestine refuses to grant William the pallium.	18. Death-bed of Pope Celestine.	19. Pope Lucius grants the pallium to William.	20. Pope Eugenius recalls the pallium.
11. The case against William's election being heard by Pope Innocent.	12. The case for William's election being heard by Pope Innocent.	13. Pope Innocent decreeing the consecration of William.	14. Proxy for the Bishop of Durham taking the oath.	15. Consecration of William at Winchester.
10. Appeal of William to Pope Innocent against his enemies.	9. William as Treasurer distributing alms.	8. Fragments.	7. Fragments.	6. Fragments, with some heads.
1. John, eighth Baron Ros, and Margaret, his wife.	2. John, son of the seventh Baron Ros, and Margaret, his wife.	3. William and Thomas, sons of the seventh Baron.	4. Robert and Richard, sons of the seventh Baron.	5. Two daughters of the seventh Baron (fragmentary).

The panels are numbered in the order in which they ought to be read.

The contents of the next three windows have been so seriously damaged that nothing in them except the outlines of figures can now be seen. The following is a summary of their contents as given by Torre :

(5)

Two clerics.	A King.	"A holy man."

Below, the shield of Scrope (*azure a bend or*) six times.

St. Paul between two angels.	The Virgin and Child between two angels.	A King between two angels.
The Virgin and Child.	Two "holy women."	"A holy woman with a boy in her arms."
A group of men.	The Crucifixion.	A group of soldiers.

In the borders, the letters R. S. and the Scrope shield-of-arms point to the conclusion that the donor of the window was Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York from 1398 to 1405.

The subject-matter of the lights was probably three mothers (St. Elizabeth, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Anne) with their children.

(6)
(?)

Below, the shield-of-arms of Percy, St. George and the dragon, St. Lawrence, St. Katherine, " a saint holding a golden comb " (St. Blaise), and another shield-of-arms.

A large figure of a man.	A King.	Our Lord holding a little cross.
Our Lord and an old man, crowned, who holds " a fair child."	A Bishop and a nobleman in a palace.	A Bishop and " a holy man."

(7)

In the tracery, in the three larger compartments, " broken imagery," and in the six above the lights, coats-of-arms.

" A large image of a holy man."	King Edward III.	Samuel.

The Resurrection.

Torre also mentions " divers monks and nuns at their devotions " as being represented somewhere in the window, and a shield in the Resurrection scene.

(8)

The six panels of coloured glass in this window were taken from the St. Cuthbert window.

A cleric praying for the soul of Robert Wolveden, treasurer.	St. Katherine and another figure.
(?).	A barber's shop.
A lady bringing her son to a schoolmaster.	A lady leaving a ship.

The lowest panel in each light is of early sixteenth-century glass.

(9)

East Window of North Aisle

England and France quarterly,
within the Garter
(originally the Virgin and Child).

St. Stephen (?). St. Lawrence.

Below, six angels playing musical instruments.

The Crucifixion.

The Blessed Virgin Mary.		St. John the Evangelist.
The Martyrdom of St. Stephen.	St. James (an insertion of earlier glass).	The trial of St. Stephen.
St. Stephen preaching.		A royal group at a shrine.

The East Window

In the tracery there are 144 compartments, and in the lights 117 panels. 103 of the tracery compartments contain figures ; the remainder display floral designs. Near the top of the tracery, between two suns, is Thornton's device, a monogram, with the date, 1408, at which the window was completed.

At the summit of the window is a figure of God the Father, Who holds a book open at the words : *Ego sum Alpha et Omega.* This proclaims the subject-matter of the window.

The following is a reading of the lights. It has been compiled with the help of Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton. The panels are placed in their present order in the window. The numbers refer to their correct order.

A. OLD TESTAMENT

I. 1. Creation. First day.	2. Creation. Second day.	3. Creation. Third day.	4. Creation. Fourth day.	5. Creation. Fifth day.	6. Creation. Sixth day.	7. Creation. Seventh day. God worshipped by His creatures.	8. The Fall. Eve, Adam, and the apple-tree. The serpent with a human head.	9. The expulsion from the Garden of Eden.
II. 1. The murder of Abel.	2. Noah, his sons, and the animals come out of the Ark.	4. The Tower of Babel.	5. The meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek.	6. The deceit of Jacob.	7. Jacob's dream.	3. The shame of Noah.	8. Joseph made known to his brethren.	9. Jacob blesses his sons.
III. 1. The finding of Moses.	2. Moses at the Burning Bush.	3. Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh.	4. The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.	5. The giving of the Law.	6. The Brazen Serpent.	7. The death of Samson.	8. David and Goliath.	9. The death of Absalom.

B. THE APOCALYPSE

IV. 1. St. John in the cauldron of oil.	2. St. John sailing to Patmos.	3. St. John reads the Apocalypse to the Elders.	4. St. John on the island of Patmos. Rev. i. 1.	5. The Vision of the Son of Man. Rev. i. 12.	6. The Seven Churches. Rev. ii. and iii.	7. Adoration of the Elders. Rev. iv. 10.	8. God in Majesty. Rev. iv. 2 sqq.	9. Adoration. of the Elders. Rev. iv. 10.
V. VII. 1. The Second Trumpet. Rev. viii. 8.	V. 4. The Lamb with the Book adored. Rev. v. 8.	V. 2. God, the Lamb, and the Elders. Rev. v. 6.	V. 5. All creation adores the Lamb. Rev. v. 13.	V. 6. The First Seal, and the First Horseman. Rev. vi. 1.	V. 7. The Second Seal, and the Horseman with the sword. Rev. vi. 3.	V. 9. The Fourth Seal, and the Horseman on the pale horse. Rev. vi. 7.	VI. 2. The Sixth Seal. Rev. vi. 12.	V. 8. The Third Seal, and the Horseman with the scales. Rev. vi. 5.

VI. VI. 3. The Angels holding the winds. Rev. vii. 1.	VI. 4. The Sealing of the 144,000. Rev. vii. 4.	V. 1. St. John, weeping, is consoled by an Elder. Rev. v. 2–4.	VI. 5. The Great Multitude. Rev. vii. 9.	VII. 6. The Sixth Trumpet. Angels in Euphrates. Rev. ix. 13.	6. Angels give thanks. Rev. vii. 11.	7. The Seventh Seal. The censer cast into the earth. Rev. viii. 1.	8. The Trumpets given. Rev. viii. 2.	VI. 1. The Fifth Seal. The souls under the altar. Rev. vi. 9.
VII. VII. 2. The Third Trumpet. Rivers. Rev. viii. 10.	VII. 3. The Fourth Trumpet. The Sun. Rev. viii. 12.	VI. 9. The First Trumpet. Rev. viii. 7.	4. The Fifth Trumpet. The Locusts. Rev. ix. 3.	V. 3. The Lamb takes the Book. Rev. v. 7.	VII. 5. Abaddon and his host. Rev. ix. 11.	7. The great Angel. The Seven Thunders. Rev. x. 1.	8. The angel gives the Book to St. John. Rev. x. 9.	9. St. John measures the Temple. Rev. xi. 1.
VIII. 1. The two witnesses. Rev. xi. 3.	2. The two witnesses slain. Rev. xi. 7.	3. The two witnesses ascend into Heaven. Rev. xi. 12.	4. The Elders adore. Rev. xi. 15.	5. The Temple and the Ark in Heaven. Rev. xi. 19.	6. The Woman clothed with the sun. Rev. xii. 1.	7. Michael fights the Dragon. Rev. xii. 7.	8. The Woman flees before the Dragon. Rev. xii. 15.	9. The Beast comes out of the sea. Rev. xiii. 1.
IX. 1. The Dragon gives the sceptre to the Beast. Rev. xiii. 2.	2. The Beast is adored. Rev. xiii. 4.	X. 3. The First Vial. Rev. xvi. 2.	4. The False Prophet brings fire from Heaven. Rev. xiii. 11.	X. 5. The Third Vial. Rev. xvi. 4.	6. The Angel with the everlasting Gospel. Rev. xiv. 6.	7. An Angel proclaims the fall of Babylon. Rev. xiv. 8.	8. The Harvest of the Earth. Rev. xiv. 14.	9. The Vintage of the Earth. Rev. xiv. 17.
X. X. 1. The Harpers on the Sea of Glass. Rev. xv. 2.	2. The Lion gives the Vials. Rev. xv. 6.	IX. 3. The Beast makes war on the Saints. Rev. xiii. 7.	4. The Second Vial. Rev. xvi. 3.	IX. 5. The Lamb on Mount Sion. Rev. xiv. 1.	6. The Fourth Vial. Rev. xvi. 8.	7. The Fifth Vial. Rev. xvi. 10.	8. The Sixth Vial. The Kings from the East. Rev. xvi. 12.	9. The Seventh Vial. Babylon. Rev. xvi. 17.
XI. 1. The woman on the Beast. Rev. xvii. 1.	2. The Fall of Babylon. Rev. xviii. 2.	3. The Elders rejoice over the Fall of Babylon. Rev. xix. 1.	4. St. John forbidden to worship the Angel. Rev. xix. 9.	5. The Army of Heaven. Rev. xix. 11.	6. The Birds summoned. Rev. xix. 17.	7. The Beasts vanquished. Rev. xix. 19.	8. Satan captured. Rev. xx. 1.	9. The Pit closed (or reopened). Rev. xx. 2.

B. THE APOCALYPSE—*Continued.*

XII. 1. The First Judgment. Rev. xx. 4.	2. Gog and Magog vanquished. Rev. xx. 7.	3. The Dead rise. Rev. xx. 12.	4. The Judgment of the Blessed. Rev. xx. 12.	5. The Judge. Rev. xx, 12.	6. The Judgment of the Lost. Rev. xx. 15.	7. "Behold, I make all things new." Rev. xxi. 5.	8. The Holy City and the River of Life. Rev. xxi. 9; and xxii. 1.	9. "Worship God." St. John bidden to write. Rev. xxii. 8.
FIGURES OF ECCLESIASTICS AND KINGS								
XIII. Our Lord(?). Pope Celestine. St. William of York(?).	A King. King Lucius. A King.	A King. King Edwin. A King.	King Edward the Confessor. King William (I?). King Edward (III?).	Bishop (or Archbishop) at an altar, probably offering the window (perhaps Henry Bowet).	Archbishop. Pope Eleutherius. Archbishop.	St. Paulinus. St. Gregory. St. Wilfrid.	St. John of Beverley. Pope Calixtus. A Bishop.	Archiflamen. King Ebraucus. Protoflamen.
See of York. See of York impaling St. William.	*Warenne. St. Oswald.*	*See of York. St. George (?)*	*England. Edward the Confessor. France and England quarterly.*	No shields.	*See of York. St. Wilfrid. See of York impaling St. Wilfrid.*	*Province impaling See of York. Skirlaw. St. Wilfrid impaling the See of York.*	*England and France quarterly. St. Oswald. Greystoke.*	No shields.

SOUTH AISLE. Commencing at the east end :

(1)

East Window

Fragments, including a ram's head.

St. John the Evangelist in the cauldron. St. John before the Emperor.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4 and 5)	(6)
The Magi on their journey.	Fragments.	The Adoration of the Magi.	The massacre of the Innocents.	The Flight into Egypt.
King Edward the Confessor giving his ring to the beggar.			St. James and two others.	
		An inserted figure of earlier date.		
(?).		St. John kneeling at a desk on which is an open book.	St. John and two angels.	

(2)

This window, the easternmost in the south wall, is of French glass of the seventeenth century. Its subject-matter is the Salutation. Below, there are two shields-of-arms of the Earl of Carlisle, the donor of the window, each encircled by the Garter.

(3)

Isaiah.	The Blessed Trinity. Two winged creatures.	King Edwin (?).

(4)

In the tracery, modern glass by Peckitt, dated 1783.

St. James.	King Edward the Confessor.	St. John the Evangelist.
The Massacre of the Innocents.	Our Lord in the Temple in the midst of the doctors.	The Baptism of our Lord.
A shield.	Mother and Child.	A shield.

(5)

In the tracery, modern glass.

An Archbishop at Mass, elevating the Host.	The Ascension.	An Archbishop at Mass, elevating the Host.
(?).	Two priests kneeling before an altar.	Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
(?).	(?).	(?).
Lower part of a figure of St. Christopher.	Our Lord mocked before Pilate.	Somebody in prison.
Martyrdom of St. Edmund.	Martyrdom of St. Paul.	(?)
	Shield-of-arms of Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York from 1688 to 1691.	

This window thus contains portions of more than one window. The Lamplugh shield-of-arms is probably the work of Henry Gyles, a York glass-painter.

(6) *The St. Cuthbert Window*

			Angel.	Christ enthroned.		Angel.			
	The Venerable Bede.	St. Gregory.		St. Peter.	St. Paul.		St. Jerome.	St. Katherine.	
St. Paulinus.	James the Deacon.	King Edwin.	St. Ethelreda.	St. Cuthbert.	King Oswald.	St. Hilda.	St. John of Beverley.	King Edward the Confessor.	St. Augustine of Canterbury.
76. Death-bed.		77. The body of the saint being wrapped in a sheet.		78. Miracles at the tomb on Farne Island.		79. Translation. One of the journeys of the monks carrying the body of the saint.		80. Miracles at the shrine in Durham Cathedral.	
71. Last voyage to Farne.		72. Feet of the saint washed.		73. Cooking the goose (?).		74. Last illness.		75. Vexed by demons.	
66. Restoring a dying child.		67. Vision.		68. Healing or confirming.		69. Preparing to celebrate Mass.		70. Turning water into wine.	
61. Message from an angel.		62. Vision of the death of King Ecgfrith.		63. Hildmer healed by a piece of bread.		64. Sending holy water to the wife of Heunna.		65. Healing of the wife of Heunna.	
56. Investiture by King Ecgfrith.		57. Consecration by Archbishop Theodore.		58. Distributing alms.		59. Works of mercy.		60. Healing of the servant of Sibba.	
51. Rebuking the crows.		52. A crow bringing fat.		53. The girdle of the saint brought to Ælfled.		54. Voyage to Coquet.		55. Ælfiede questioning the saint.	
46. Building a cell on Farne Island.		47. With the monks of Farne.		48. Sowing corn.		49. Rebuking the birds that stole the corn.		50. Building with planks washed up by the sea.	
41. Journey with two monks.		42. Delivering the monastic Institutes.		43. Teaching.		44. Remonstrating in Chapter.		45. Driving away fiends from Farne.	

36. Met by Hildmer.	37. About to send holy water.	38. The wife of Hildmer recovered.	39. Putting out fire.	40. Journey with three monks and a layman.
31. Preaching.	32. Receiving fish.	33. The fish divided.	34. Praying.	35. Falsely accused.
26. Fragments.	27. Fragments.	28. Fragments.	29. Fragments.	30. Fragments.
21. Giving up his horse and spear.	22. Reception at Old Melrose.	23. Bread provided at Ripon by an angel.	24. The prophecy of Boisil.	25. Provost of Melrose.
16. Vision of the death of St. Aidan.	17. Bringing back the ships.	18. Starting for Melrose.	19. The horse finding bread.	20. Dividing half of the loaf with the horse.
11. Boyhood with St. Columba.	12. Boyish games.	13. The Holy Well at Doilweme.	14. An angel on a white horse.	15. An angel curing the boy's knee.
6. The lost psalter restored.	7. Committed to the care of a guardian.	8. Committed to the care of a nobleman.	9. Embarkation in a stone boat.	10. Committed to the care of St. Columba.
1. Birth.	2. Baptism.	3. The boy and his mother.	4. Learning the psalter.	5. Losing the psalter in the sea.
King Henry V.	King Henry VI.	St. Cuthbert, holding the head of King Oswald.	John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.	King Henry IV.
Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York.	Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal.	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.	John Kemp, Archbishop of York and Canterbury, and Cardinal.	Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham.

The panels which illustrate the life of St. Cuthbert are numbered in the order in which they should be read.

The lowest subjects, the figures of the donor and others, while requiring only ten divisions on the plan, occupy twenty-five in the window, as they are arranged under canopies.

(7)

A Portion of a Jesse Tree

A King.

St. John the Baptist. King Amon.

Below, in the six compartments above the lights, mostly fragments possibly of a Doom scene.

Samuel.	King Ahaziah.	King Abijam.
King Zedekiah.	King Joash.	King Joram.
King Jotham.	King Josiah.	King Jeconiah.
King Manasseh.	King Hezekiah.	Elijah.
Daniel.	King Ahaz.	Amos.

The problem of the origin of this window is discussed in the text.

(8)

Zebedee and Salome with St. James and St. John.	Joachim and St. Anne with the Blessed Virgin Mary and our Lord.	The Holy Family.
Marriage of Zebedee and Salome.	Rejection of the offering of Cleopas (?).	Appearance of an angel to St. Joseph (?).
(?).	The birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary (?).	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (?).

There is much doubt about the contents of this window, and the above is largely conjectural.

(9)

The Tribute Money.	In the Garden of Gethsemane.	The Sermons on the Mount.
Zechariah.	David.	Malachi.
The Entry into Jerusalem.	Our Lord washing the feet of St. Peter.	The Last Supper.
Jeremiah (?).	Nehemiah (?).	Joel.

This glass is of earlier date than the stonework into which it fits.

Clerestory of Eastern Choir.

North Side. Reading from west to east :

(1)

Fourth from East

Five Apostles, each holding a scroll on which is written the portion of the Apostles' Creed ascribed to him by tradition.

St. Peter.	St. Andrew.	St. John.	St. James.	St. Thomas.
(" I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.")	(" And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.")	(" Suffered under Pontius Pilate ; was crucified, dead and buried.")	(" Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.")	(" He descended into hell ; the third day He rose again from the dead.")

The third and fourth lights ought to be interchanged.

(2)

Third from East

Two Apostles and three Prophets, each holding scrolls.

St. Bartholomew. (" He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.")	David. (" Thou art My Son ; this day have I begotten Thee.")	Amos. (" Who buildeth in the heaven his stories.")	Daniel. (" After sixty-two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.")	St. Matthew. (" From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.")

SOUTH SIDE. Reading from east to west :

(3)

Second from East

The Adoration of the Magi.	The Massacre of the Innocents.	The Presentation in the Temple.	The Flight into Egypt.	The Annunciation.
St. Matthias, with halbert.	St. Paul, with sword.	St. John, with golden eagle.	St. Andrew, with cross.	St. Bartholomew, with open knife and empty skin.

(4)

Third from East

The Burial of the Blessed Virgin Mary.	(?).	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.	(?).	Meeting of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin Mary (?).
St. Paul, with sword.	Female saint, with staff.	St. Ursula, with ship.	St. Margaret, killing the dragon.	St. Helen, with cross.

(5)

Fourth from East

Five Prophets who hold scrolls.

(?).	Haggai. (" My spirit remaineth among you.")	Joel. (" Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat.")	Hosea. (" O death, I will be thy plagues ; O grave, I will be thy destruction.")	Jeremiah.

Clerestory of Western Choir

North Side. Commencing at the west end :

(1)

First from West

In the tracery, figures of Old Testament Prophets, including Malachi, Daniel, Obadiah, and David.

King Edwin (?).	A Pope.	King Edwin.	Paulinus.
France and England quarterly.	*Bowet.*	*Dalby.*	*Walworth.*

(2)

Second from West

In the tracery, figures of six Kings and twelve Apostles, including St. Paul.

A Bishop.	King Oswald.	Pope Honorius.	King Oswiu.	Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne.
Warenne and Surrey.	*Newton* (?).	*Bowet.*	*Nottingham* (?).	*Ros impaling Stafford.*

(3)

Third from West

In the tracery, figures of saints and prophets, including St. Margaret, St. Katherine, St. Helen, St. Christopher, St. Peter, St. Stephen, Malachi, and Micah.

Archbishop Bosa.	King Oswy.	Pope Agatho.	King Alfred.	St. Wilfrid.

Below, the Scrope shield repeated five times. It is also found twice in the tracery.

(4)

Fourth from West

In the tracery, figures of prophets, ecclesiastics, and kings, including Saul, Solomon, Isaiah, and Zechariah.

St. John of Beverley (705–718).	King Ceolwulf (732–758).	A Pope.	King Eadberht (737–758).	Archbishop Wilfrid II (718–737).
Bowet impaling Montalt.	*See of York impaling Bowet.*	*Bowet.*	*Bowet impaling Ufford.*	*Bowet impaling Zouche and Dinan.*

SOUTH SIDE. Commencing at the east :

Very few of the figures in the tracery of these four windows can be identified.

(5)

First from East

Archbishop Oswald (?).	A King.	Pope Gregory the Great.	King Edward (the Confessor ?).	An Archbishop.
Fenton.	(?).	*Wolveden.*	*Clifford* (?).	(?).

(6)

Second from East

An Archbishop.	A King.	An Archbishop (this ought to be a Pope).	A King.	St. Siegfried.
Skirlaw.	*Portington.*	*Langley.*	*Harrington impaling Courtenay.*	*Nottingham.*

(7)

Third from East

An Archbishop.	King Gaduala.	Pope Vigilius.	King Arigurus (?).	St. Sampson.
France and England within a border for Beaufort.	*King Edwin.*	(?).	*Mortimer.*	*Mowbray.*

(8)

Fourth from East

An Archbishop.	A King.	Pope Eleutherius.	King Lucius.
St. William of York.	*St. Paul.*	*St. Peter.*	*St. Wilfrid.*

CHOIR TRANSEPTS, CLERESTORY

NORTH SIDE.

(1)

East Window

Of plain glass except for its borders and the following shields-of-arms in the two topmost compartments of the tracery : *France and England quarterly with a label* (for John of Gaunt ?), and *Langton* (or *Wilsthorp*).

(2)

West Window

Of plain glass except for its borders and the following shields-of-arms in the two topmost compartments of the tracery : *Percy* and *Lewknor.*

SOUTH SIDE.

(3)

East Window

Sun.	Monogram.	Canopy.	Monogram.	Sun.
		Figure of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York.		
Scrope of Masham impaling Chaworth quartering Alfreton.	*Scrope of Masham.*		*Hotham.*	*Scrope of Masham.*
		Kneeling figure of Stephen Scrope, Archdeacon of Richmond.		

(4)

West Window

Sun.	Monogram.	Canopy.	Monogram.	Sun.
		St. William of York.		
Wolveden.	*Dean and Chapter of York.*		*Gascoigne.*	*St. William of York.*

LANTERN TOWER.

A double row of cross keys on coloured backgrounds in each of the eight windows.

THE MUSEUM OF THE YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

1. Hospitium

In the upper room of the hospitium of the former Abbey of St. Mary are preserved forty-seven pieces or panels of glass, mostly medieval, which are hung in the windows of the wall which contains the entrance door and the wall opposite. They do not lend themselves to any method of description except in the form of short notes. At the same time, no account of the York glass is complete which does not include them. In the Ethnological Room of the Museum thirteen pieces can be seen.

West Wall (opposite the door).

The windows and the lights are numbered from the left and the panels from the top.

First Window

(1) *First Light.*—(*a*) and (*c*) Two circular panels, showing, within a white square, yellow and blue foliage, the whole on a ruby ground.

(*b*) A considerable portion of an early canopy, apparently of the early thirteenth century, surmounted by two domes and a gable, the whole of beautiful deep colours of yellow, blue, ruby, pink, and green. Its original home was in the church of Wilton, Wilts. It is quite unlike any York work of that period that has survived.

(2) *Second Light.*—(*a*) and (*b*) Portions of borders of conventional foliage of the same date.

(*c*) A roundel showing a wheel which has for spokes conventional foliage.

(3) *Third Light.*—(*a*) and (*b*) Similar pieces to (*a*) and (*b*) in the second light.

(*c*) A portion of a Decorated border of white maple leaves on a ruby background.

(4) *Fourth Light.*—(*a*) A fragment showing a maple leaf and a star of four points.

(*b*) A larger piece of Decorated glass displaying, on quarries ornamented with the maple leaf, two green oak leaves separated by a piece of rich ruby glass, evidently an insertion. This piece came from a window on the north side of the chancel of Sandal Church, near Wakefield.

(*c*) As (*a*) in this light.

Second Window

(1) *First Light.*—Under a fragmentary canopy, the figure of a doctor of the church, who sits on a handsome gilt chair. Originally in the church of St. Crux, York, which was demolished about 1890. Late fourteenth century.

(2) *Second Light.*—The head of a crowned king against a ruby background, the whole in an annulet of green glass. Of the same date.

(3) *Third Light.*—(*a*) and (*b*) Two small finials from yellow gabled canopies.

(*c*) Figure of St. Mary of Egypt (inscription : *egipciaca*), whose long golden hair completely covers her.[1]

(4) *Fourth Light.*—Another doctor of the church, St. Ambrose, a figure rather more complete than its fellow in the first light of this window, as the gilt desk in front of him is visible. On the scroll below : *Scs. Ambros . . . doct. . . .*[2] Also from the church of St. Crux.

Third Window

(1) *First Light.*—(*a*) Within a border of sixteenth-century glass, probably of foreign origin, the figure of an angel, playing a musical instrument. The glass of the figure has an older appearance than the remainder of the glass in this panel.

(*b*) and (*c*) Two quarries.

(2) *Second Light.*—(*a*) A group of twelve heads of the fifteenth century.

(*b*) A shield-of-arms—*gules a bezant between three crowns or.*

(3) *Third Light.*—(*a*) An imaginary beast with two grotesque human heads, the feet of an ox, and a tail of a branch of an oak-tree.

(*b*) A shield-of-arms—*argent a chief azure.* From Bristol Cathedral.

(4) *Fourth Light.*—(*a*) A panel of similar design to the top panel in the first light of this window. The centre portion is of a yellow cross on a white ground.

(*b*) and (*c*) Two quarries.

Fourth Window

(1) *First Light.*—(*a*) A shield-of-arms—*or five chevronels azure,* for the Deanery of Hereford.

(*b*) A seventeenth-century coat-of-arms.

(2) *Second Light.*—(*a*) A shield-of-arms—*or a crow sable,* for Corbet.

(*b*) A crowned *fleur-de-lis.*

(3) *Third Light.*—(*a*) A seventeenth-century shield with six quarterings. From Ledstone Church.

(*b*) A fragment of a shield—*argent a chevron gu. between three bells sa.* for Bellerby. From Ripon Cathedral.

(4) *Fourth Light.*—(*a*) and (*b*) Two fragments of shields of the seventeenth century, also from Ripon Cathedral.

A head of our Lord, of Perpendicular glass, now cracked, forms part of the collection of glass in the hospitium, but has been removed for safety.

East Wall.

First (left-hand) Window

(1) *First Light.*—A large panel of Perpendicular fragments, in which, at the sides, two fragments of borders are prominent, which consist of large yellow leaves winding round a white stem. Besides a fragment of a head and a piece of ruby glass, nothing else merits notice. From Wakefield Cathedral.

[1] See also page 194 for an account of the only other figure of this saint in the York glass.

[2] A figure also found in the glass of St. Martin, Coney Street. See p. 137.

(2) *Second Light.*—A shield-of-arms—*ermine on a chief gules two stars of eight points or.*

(3) *Third Light.*—A shield-of-arms—*gules a cross or.*

Middle Window

(1) *First Light.*—A large panel of Perpendicular fragments, in which the head and shoulders of a female saint who wears a white hat with yellow points can be seen. The background of her figure is coloured blue. There are also fragments of canopy tops. From Wakefield Cathedral.

(2) *Second Light.*—A shield-of-arms—*argent a cross gules.*

(3) *Third Light.*—A shield-of-arms—*ermine two bars gules,* for Old Waterton. This shield was originally in the Waterton Chapel in Sandal Church.

(4) *Fourth Light.*—A large panel of Perpendicular fragments, including the figure of an abbess who holds a book. There are also fragments of canopy tops. The background of her figure is coloured blue. From Wakefield Cathedral.

Third Window

(1) *First Light.*—A large panel of Perpendicular fragments, including the figure of a crowned female against a blue background, a hand holding a sword, and fragments of canopies. From Wakefield Cathedral.

(2) *Second Light.*—A composite domestic shield-of-arms, showing the shields of Percy (old), Darrell, and Aton.

(3) *Third Light.*—England. From Chesterfield Church.

(4) *Fourth Light.*—A large panel of Perpendicular fragments from Wakefield Cathedral. On the right-hand side is a portion of a border similar to those in the first light of the first window on this wall.

Much of the glass which was taken out of Wakefield Cathedral over forty years ago is in private ownership, and is well cared for.

2. Ethnological Room

In the two windows of this room are preserved thirteen more fragments of glass, again nearly all medieval.

First Window (nearest the door)

Five Perpendicular canopy-tops, with blue backgrounds, and set in broad white borders, originally in Bolton Percy Church, about nine miles south-west of York. They are excellently preserved, but it is a pity that they are not still in their proper home. Apparently they were removed from the church at the time of the restoration of the east window, which, in spite of restoration, is one of the finest late fifteenth-century windows in the county of York. They were probably taken from two of the other windows of the church.

Hanging in the same window are three representations of heads, one of which came from the same church.

Second Window

(*a*) Two shields of the fifteenth century, very much mutilated, set in broad oval-shaped borders consisting of fragments. Each oval is arranged against a background of plain quarries and between blue borders relieved with yellow monograms surmounted by gold crowns. These fragments were taken from the same church as the canopy-tops in the other window in this room.

(*b*) The head of a female saint, who has long golden hair and wears a white coronet heavily jewelled. Of German work, probably belonging to the sixteenth century.

(*c*) An early eighteenth-century panel which represents, on one piece of glass, now cracked and the fragments leaded together, the landing of William of Orange at Torbay. It is one of the rare examples of enamel-work in York.

(*d*) A panel set in yellow and blue borders which represents a man gathering sticks, and for his offence in doing this on the Sabbath Day being stoned to death. The panel is headed with the Fourth Commandment. Below is a reference to Numbers xv, verse 32, and the verse :

> " If Hee were slaine which on the Sabbath day
> [At] need did gather sticks, Oh how shall they
> [Escape] GOD'S wrath which for bace Pelfe or Pleasure
> [Profane] GOD'S Sabboths in most frequent measure."

The incident is described in Numbers xv, verses 32 to 36.
This is another rare example of enamel painting on glass, and, like the other, is most pleasing.

YORK PARISH CHURCHES

I. ST. OLAVE

		St. Gabriel the Archangel.	An Angel (fragment).	
		A figure.	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	
A Saint.	St. Dunstan, holding a hammer.	A Bishop.	St. Olave (?).	A Saint.
				Three small figures.

The whole of the glass is fragmentary.

II. ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET

(1)

The West Window

The life of St. Martin of Tours.

In the tracery, a representation of the Host of Heaven, the only figures named being a cherub, an angel, and one of the Powers.

Received by a King.	Appearance of the Holy Dove.		Illness.	Vision of our Lord.
		St. Martin of Tours.		
A Priest elevating the Host at Mass, attended by an acolyte.	A young girl delivered into his charge.		Dividing his cloak with the beggar.	Death.
Raising to life a young girl.	As a soldier before an army.	Consecration.	Exorcising a fiend.	Protecting hares from dogs.
		Figure of the donor, Robert Semer.		

SOUTH AISLE. Commencing at the east end.

(2)

Second from East

The Blessed Trinity.

The figures in the tracery below include the Coronation of the Virgin (the second and fourth from the east).

Fragment in the canopy of a figure of God the Father.

Canopy containing three figures.

A lady praying.

Joachim, St. Anne, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and our Lord.

Our Lord and the Dove (perhaps a portion of a group representing the Blessed Trinity).

Shield-of-arms of Sir Richard Yorke.

(3)

Third from East

An eagle.

Below, four saints and two martens.

St. Peter.		*England.*
A medallion.	St. George.	A medallion.
A mutilated shield.	*St. George.*	A mutilated shield.

(All set in fragments.)

(4)

Fourth from East

Our Lord.

Below, an archangel and angels.

Fragments, including heads and a marten.	St. Barbara, with a tower. Shield.	Fragments, including part of the figure of a King.

CLERESTORY, NORTH SIDE. Commencing at the west end.

(5)

First from West

Old borders.

(6)

Second from West

St. William of York.	*See of York.*	(?).	*France and England quarterly.*
	Bishop.	Archbishop.	
(?).	(?).	*City of London.*	*City of York.*

(7)

Third from West

Daniel in the den of lions.	Ezekiel crucified.	Jeremiah stoned.	Isaiah sawn asunder.
St. Ambrose.	St. Augustine.	St. Jerome.	St. Gregory.

Below, groups of donors.

(8)

Fourth from West

St. Matthew, holding an angel.	St. Mark, holding a winged lion.	St. Luke, holding a winged ox.	St. John, holding an eagle.

Below, groups of donors.

(9)

Fifth from West

St. Barbara, holding a tower.	St. Katherine, holding a sword and a wheel.	An Archbishop.	St. Denys, holding his own head.

(10)

Sixth from West

St. Christopher.	The Archangel Gabriel.	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	St. George.

(A representation of the Annunciation.)

Below, group of donors.

III. ST. HELEN

West Wall

(1)

South Aisle

(See pp. 142–143.)

(2)

West Window

St. Katherine (?).	King Edward the Confessor.	An Archbishop.	The Blessed Virgin Mary.
Donor, wife, and five children.	Figure.	Figure.	The Coronation of the Virgin.

(3)

North Aisle.

(See pp. 142–143.)

(4) and (5) For the east windows of the aisles, see the same pages.

IV. ST. MICHAEL-LE-BELFREY

(1)

East Window

	Kneeling Angel.	St. Michael.	Female figure.	Kneeling Angel.	
Shield.	*Latimer.*			Shield.	"Jeffery Linton, 1746."
Figure.	Our Lord.	Frag- ments.	Figure.	Fragments and a figure.	Figure.
Canopy.	Canopy.	Canopy.		Canopy.	Canopy.
St. Peter. St. Paul.	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Resurrection.		The Nativity.	The Annunciation.
St. James.	Two kneeling donors.			Two kneeling donors.	Donor.

(2)

North Aisle, East Window

A row of donors :

A lady and her three daughters, kneeling.	A man and his seven sons, kneeling.	A man kneeling.	Three women kneeling.
St. George.	St. Christopher.	St. Ursula.	The Blessed Virgin Mary (part of the Annunciation).
A man in bonds.	A man and a woman embracing.	The woman anointed by a bishop.	Another man and the woman being married by the bishop.

The glass of the lowest row belongs to the sixteenth century (about 1530).

South Aisle. Commencing at east end.

(3)

Second from East

St. John the Baptist.	St. Peter.	St. Wilfrid (?).	A Saint.
Priest praying.	Kneeling figures of children as donors.	Kneeling figures of children as donors.	Priest praying.
T. M.	Roundel.	T. M.	Roundel.

The initials T. M. are for Thomas Marsar (see page 149).

(4)

Third from East

St. Peter.	St. Paul.	St. Hugh of Lincoln (?).	St. William of York.
Mutilated shield	*St. Paul.*	*St. William of York.*	*St. Peter.*

Below, four roundels.

(5)

Fourth from East

St. George.	A Knight.	A Bishop, but with a crown inserted.	St. Christopher.
I. C.	*Goldsmiths' Company.*	*City of York.*	*Shield.*
Fragments.	Fragments.	Blessed Virgin Mary.	Kneeling figure.

The initials I. C. are for John Coltman (see page 149).

(6)

Fifth from East

A Knight in armour.	St. James.	A Bishop.	Figure with a club.
The Pierced Heart. T. M. T. M.	Kneeling figure.	Kneeling priest.	*St. George.* T. M. T. M.

V. HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE.

(1)

East Window

	Shield.	*Impaled Shield.*	*Shield.*	
St. George.	St. John the Baptist.	The Blessed Trinity.	St. John the Evangelist.	St. Christopher.
St. Mary Cleopas, Alphaeus, and their children.	St. Anne, Joachim, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, with our Lord.	The Blessed Trinity.	Salome, Zebedee, and St. John the Evangelist.	St. Ursula.

(2)

North Aisle, East Window

The Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned.	Mitred bishop.
St. William of York.	A saint.
A figure.	A figure.

Much of this window is fragmentary.

(3)

South Aisle, East Window

St. Paulinus.	St. Olave, holding stones.
Latimer.	A figure with a cross on the forehead.

(4), (5), (6), and (7).—Shields-of-arms and other coloured glass in the tracery:

(4) *Provence* and *England.*
(5) Devices.
(6) *Ros* and *De Vere.*
(7) *Percy* and *Mowbray.*

VI. ST. SAMPSON

In the west window there is a little old glass—some fragments in the tracery, and, at the head of the second light, the upper part of the figure of a mitred bishop with a crozier. The head of the bishop is a later insertion. The remainder of the figure is of early fifteenth-century glass.

VII. ST. SAVIOUR

(1)

East Window

In the tracery, various figures, mostly fragmentary, including those of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary, angels, a priest, and several nuder figures. At the summit of the window there is a small, but nearly perfect, representation of the Blessed Trinity, the Father holding the Crucified Son.

Our Lord nailed to the Cross.	Crucifixion.	The Resurrection (?).	Our Lord and St. Thomas after the Resurrection.	The Ascension.
Our Lord's Body prepared for burial.	Our Lord, holding the scourge. Shield displaying the instruments of the Passion.	An Angel at the tomb (?).	The Descent from the Cross.	Fragments.
Fragments.	Four heads.	Figure in part of top of a canopy.	Head of Christ, and fragment of kneeling figure.	Fragments, including an Angel and a soldier in armour.

(2) and (3) old glass, including three roundels showing two swords in *saltire*, in the tracery of the windows at the east end of the aisles.

VIII. ST. CUTHBERT

(See pp. 158–159.)

IX. ST. DENYS

North Aisle. Commencing at the west end.

(1)

First Window

In the tracery, two female saints, and other old glass.

Beheading of St. John the Baptist.	Figure kneeling before the Blessed Virgin Mary (?) (twelfth century).	St. John the Baptist in the wilderness.
	St. Michael keeping the demons in hell (twelfth century).	

(2)

Second Window

In the tracery, the Crucifixion, and figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, and other old glass.

St. Margaret.	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	Modern quarries.
Donor.	Donor's wife.	Donor's son.

(3)

Third Window

	Head of our Lord.	
Head of a Saint.		Head of a Saint.
	And other old glass.	
St. Thomas, kneeling.	Our Lord. Donor.	St. John the Evangelist, holding an eagle.

(4)

Jesse Window—East Window of North Aisle

(See pp. 163–164.)

(5)

East Window

In the tracery, fragments, including a mutilated figure of St. Christopher and two shields of Scrope of Masham inserted the wrong way about.

A Saint (only the upper portion of the figure).	The Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Crucifixion.	St. John the Evangelist (only the upper portion of his figure).	St. Denys.
		A crowned King and a Bishop.		

(6)

South Aisle, East Window

Fragments in twelve panels, including heads (one of a Pope between the devil and a woman), a dragon emerging from a chalice, and three trumpeters.

(7)

South Wall, First Window from East

In the tracery, fragments, including a representation of a man and two angels playing musical instruments.

Female Saint (St. Katherine ?).	The Assumption (?).	A Saint.

X. ST. MARY, CASTLEGATE

South Aisle, East Window

In the tracery, four shields, one of which displays the arms of Percy, another a merchant's mark, and two others the *fleurs-de-lis*.

A Queen (head only).	Our Lord (head only).	A King (head only).
St. John the Baptist, holding the Lamb.	A crowned King, blessing.	St. James, with shell on his hat, holding the sword.

There is old glass also in the borders.

XI. ST. MICHAEL, SPURRIERGATE

(1)

North Aisle, East Window

In the two middle lights, fragments, including a scroll from a panel representing the Descent of Lucifer and a representation of the Head of God the Father.

South Aisle

(2)

East Window

In the two middle lights, fragments, including demons, several heads, including the Head of our Lord, and a soldier in armour.

(3)

First from East

God the Father (?).

Seraphim.	Cherubim.
Thrones.	Virtues.
Principalities.	Powers.
Dominions.	Angels.

(4)

Second from East

[A fragment of a Jesse tree.]

The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Child.	King Manasseh.
King David.	A King.
A King.	A King.
Daniel.	Isaiah.

(5)

Third from East

A fragment of the same Jesse tree.

King and Queen (an insertion).	King Jotham.
Zechariah.	Prophet.
Malachi.	Fragments.
King Hezekiah.	Fragments, including heads of Angels and a Bishop.

(6)

West Window of South Aisle

Within old borders and in roundels, the following :

Two birds.	Eagle.	Female Saint.	Figure.
Virgin and Child.	Saint and open book.	Three figures.	Figure and three heads.
Female Saint and two other figures.	The Father holding the Son on the Cross.	Five heads.	Head.
Cross of St. George within the Garter.	Fragments of two figures.	Our Lord.	Four heads.

(7)

West Window of North Aisle

Within old borders and in roundels, the following :

Fragments.	A sun.	A star.	Fragments.
Fragments.	Fragments.	Armed figure holding a shield.	Fragments.
A crowned Queen.	Heads.	A crowned Queen.	Fragments.
Fragments.	Fragments.	Fragments.	Fragments.

XII. ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET

Windows in the East Wall

(1)

The East Window

In the tracery, modern glass.

St. John the Baptist, holding a Lamb which rests on a book.	The Blessed Virgin Mary being taught by St. Anne to read.	St. Christopher.
Kneeling figures of Nicholas Blackburn, Junior, and his wife, Margaret.	The Blessed Trinity.	Kneeling figures of Nicholas Blackburn, Senior, and Margaret, his wife.

(2)

North Aisle

St. Michael the Archangel killing the Dragon.

St. George killing the Dragon.		The Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned.
The Adoration of the Magi.	The Crucifixion.	The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.
The Annunciation.	The Nativity.	The Resurrection.

(3)

South Aisle

In the tracery, some old glass, including roundels and quarries.

The Blessed Virgin Mary.	The Crucifixion.	St. John the Evangelist.
Donor.	The Agony in the Garden—our Lord with the Cup.	Donor.

North Aisle

Commencing at the west end

(4)

First from West

A two-light window, containing old canopy-tops.

(5)

Second from West

Canopy.	Canopy.	Canopy.
Mountney.	A mutilated shield.	A mutilated shield.
Roundel.	Fragments.	Roundel.
Alcock.	*France and England quarterly* (incomplete).	*Wyke.*

There are fragmentary borders, which are not continued upwards beyond the canopies.

(6)

Third from West

St. Thomas.	Our Lord.	St. Michael killing the Dragon.

(7)

Fourth from West

[Six Corporal Works of Mercy.]

Feeding the hungry.	Giving drink to the thirsty.	Showing hospitality to strangers.
Clothing the naked.	Visiting the sick.	Visiting the prisoners.
Kneeling cleric.	Sun, seven stars, and the sea.	A donor and his wife.

(8)

Fifth from West

[The Prykke of Conscience, or the Last Fifteen Days.]

	St. Peter receives the souls of the blessed.	The devil pushes into hell the souls of the damned.
The stars fall.	Death claims all.	The fire devours everything.
Only earth and sky are to be seen.	Men emerge from their holes.	The bones of dead people come to life again.
An earthquake.	Rocks and trees are consumed.	Men hide themselves in holes.
Fishes and sea monsters invade the earth.	The sea on fire.	Trees on fire.
The sea rises.	The sea falls.	The earth dry.

Below, kneeling figures of donors.

South Aisle

Commencing at the east end

(9)

First from East

An Archbishop (St. William of York ?).	Shield.	A Saint (St. John the Evangelist ?).
	Shield.	
Kneeling figures of donors.	Roundel.	Kneeling figures of donors.

(10)

Third from East

Fragments, the original subject, according to Gent, having been the Corpus Christi procession in York.

(11)

Fourth from East

Mostly fragments, only the crowned head of the Blessed Virgin Mary (middle light) and an archbishop saying Mass (third light) being clear. The canopies are well preserved.

Windows in the West Wall

(12)

South Aisle

In the middle light, fragments of old borders, with two roundels, the upper one containing fragments, and the lower the shield of Old Percy.

(13)

West Window

Fragments of old glass in the topmost division of the tracery.

(14)

North Aisle

In the middle light, fragments of old borders.

XIII. ST. MARTIN-CUM-GREGORY

North Aisle, counting from West

(1)

First from West

In the tracery, fragments of old glass.

In the middle light, a panel of old glass at the top, showing two kneeling angels, probably the remains of a Resurrection scene, and an Archbishop holding a church.

In the middle panels of all three lights there are roundels containing fragments, and at the foot of the first and third lights large medallions of Peckitt's glass.

(2)

Second from West

Some old glass in the four side compartments of the tracery.

St. John the Baptist, holding the Lamb.

A Peckitt memorial (see page 194).

St. Katherine, holding the wheel.

Roundel set in quarries.

Roundel set in quarries.

(3)

Third from West

Fragments of old glass in the tracery, remains of the figures of archbishops and bishops. In the lights, Peckitt's glass (see page 195).

(4)

Fourth from West

In the middle light, a panel of old glass representing Adam and Eve being led into the Garden of Eden by God the Father.

There are also fragments of old glass in the tracery and in the heads of the lights.

(5)

Fifth from West

Fragments of old glass in the tracery and in the heads of the lights. Across the middle of the lights are three panels composed of fragments.

(6)

Sixth from West

Across the middle of the lights are three panels said by Gent to have represented :

Our Lord walking on the sea. (Two heads and the side of a boat can be seen.)

Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac. (The figures of an old man, a young man, and an animal can be seen.)

The worship of the Golden Calf. (Heads and an animal can be seen.)

(7)

East Window of North Aisle

Against coloured and white quarries, the following :

Fragments, including a long white cross-staff, the pierced foot of our Lord, and a kneeling female Saint

Top of a Decorated canopy.

Our Lord, holding a long cross-staff, blessing a kneeling Saint.

Fragments.

A shield bearing *a bend azure.*

South Aisle

(8)

East Window

Flower and leaf pattern.

Angel with censer.

Angel with censer.

A female Saint (an inserted shield at the foot of the figure).

St. Martin of Tours, dividing his cloak with a beggar.

A Saint.

Kneeling figure of a man in plate armour.

Kneeling figure of a priest.

There are fragments of old glass at the heads of the lights of the next three windows.

(9)

First from East

Fragments, including the figure of a man in a blue coat.	Fragments, including a curious canopy-top, out of which a lady looks.	Fragments, including the figure of St. Mary of Egypt, the head of a priest, and the crowned head of a lady.

(10)

Second from East

Fragments, including a head in a halo and the head of a King.	Fragments.	St. Agnes, with the lamb at her feet.

(11)

Third from East

Female Saint.	St. Anthony, with cross and bell on his shoulder	Fragments, with two panels of seventeenth-century glass, representing the Kiss of Betrayal and the fight between David and Goliath.

(12)

The tracery light of the small window which is nearest the west end in the south aisle has a few fragments of old glass.

(13)

There are also fragments of old glass in the vestry window.

XIV. ST. JOHN

(1)

South Aisle, East Window

Fragments.	St. George.	The Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned.	Our Lord.	St. Christopher (lower part of figure only). St. Michael the Archangel.
		City of York.	*Neville.*	
St. Elizabeth, holding St. John the Baptist as an infant.		St. John the Baptist, holding the Lamb.		The feast given by King Herod.
The Baptism of our Lord by St. John the Baptist (?).		(?).		The Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist.
Donors.		Donors.		Donors.

(2)

South Aisle, First from East

In the tracery, fragments of the figures of two archbishops, with two other figures flanking them, all of the fifteenth century.

(3)

South Aisle, Second from East

Three panels of decorated grisaille, which show no figure except that of a priest who kneels at an altar.

(4)

North Aisle, East Window

The Foster. Staple of Calais.	*Stapylton impaling Gascoigne.*	*Yorke.*	*Yorke impaling Maulever.*	*Yorke impaling Darcy.*	*Yorke impaling Askwith.*	*The City of York.*
The Blessed Trinity.	St. George killing the Dragon (lower portion only). Fragments above.		Fragments.			St. Christopher.
Six sons of Sir Richard Yorke.	Sir Richard Yorke kneeling at an altar.		The Blessed Trinity (an insertion, replacing Sir Richard's wife).			Four daughters of Sir Richard Yorke.
Kneeling figures of a man and Katherine, his wife.	Kneeling figures of John and Joan Randman.		Kneeling figures of Richard and Isabella Toller, who kneel before an altar at which a priest says Mass.			Two kneeling figures.

XV. ST. MARY, BISHOPHILL, JUNIOR

(See page 195.)

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